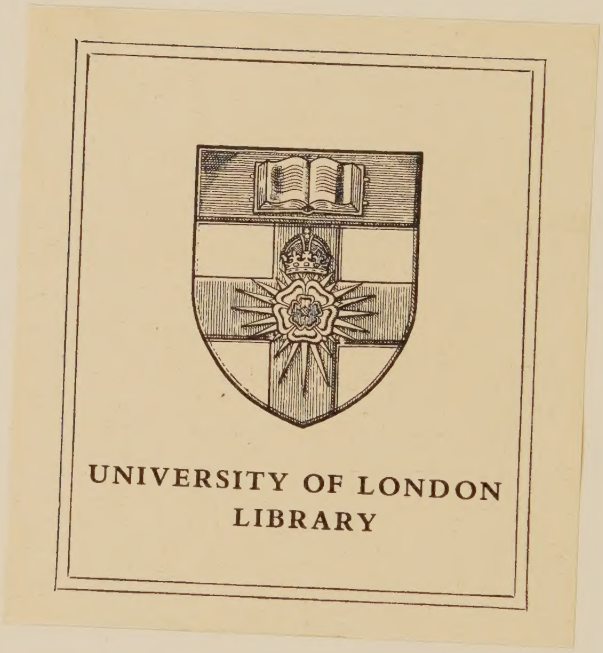
REFERENCE ONLY

63 Periodicals [British School]



SHL
WITHDRAW

PAPERS
OF THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

Price £2 10s.

PAPERS OF THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

VOLUME XXIX
(NEW SERIES, VOLUME XVI)

1961

VEII
The Historical Topography of the Ancient City

BY
JOHN WARD-PERKINS

PUBLISHED BY THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME AT 1, LOWTHER GARDENS, EXHIBITION ROAD,
LONDON, S.W.7

© *Copyright The British School at Rome, 1, Lowther Gardens, London, S.W.7*

Printed in Great Britain
BY W. HEFFER & SONS LTD.
CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND

VEII
THE HISTORICAL TOPOGRAPHY OF THE ANCIENT CITY

		PAGE
I.	Introduction	1
II.	The Gates and Roads of Veii	3
III.	Villanovan Veii	20
IV.	The Etruscan City:	
	(*a*) The inhabited area: streets, temples, houses	25
	(*b*) The walls	32
	(*c*) The cemeteries	39
	(*d*) Water-supply and drainage	47
V.	Republican Veii	52
VI.	The *Municipium Augustum Veiens*:	
	(*a*) The sources	57
	(*b*) The roads	60
	(*c*) The town	62
	(*d*) The cemeteries	71
VII.	Post-classical Veii	75
Appendix I.	The Nineteenth-century Antiquaries: Gell, Dennis, Canina	82
Appendix II.	Inscriptions: supplement to *CIL*, by J. M. Reynolds	86
Appendix III.	Veii, 1960: The latest finds	88
Appendiv IV.	The Area North and West of the North-west Gate	114
Indexes		121

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/papers-of-the-british-school-at-rome_1961_29

I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this series of notes being to record the extant or recently destroyed remains of antiquities within the several cities of Southern Etruria and their associated territories, many of the topics which excited the attention of past generations of scholars may safely be left to those whose principal interest is the history of antiquarian scholarship. Much of the existing literature about Veii falls within this category. The controversy that once raged about its location was stilled once and for all by the excavation, between 1812 and 1817, of a part of the Roman site that lies to the north-east of Isola Farnese, and by the discovery of inscriptions naming it as heir to the vanished glories of its great Etruscan predecessor. Another topic that belongs to a robuster past is the location of the sites described in Livy's narrative of the wars that preceded the capture and destruction of Veii by Camillus. It would be generally agreed today that although Livy's location of the castle of the Fabii, for example, might possibly throw light on the topographical knowledge of Livy himself, or of his immediate sources, it is extremely unlikely to contribute much of value to our appreciation of the character and layout of the Etruscan city and its environs. The effective archaeological study of Veii begins with the work of Gell and Nibby, of Canina, and of Dennis.

To say that serious study of the site ceased again with these same writers would be an injustice to the memory of the series of distinguished scholars, Lanciani, Colini, Giglioli and Stefani, who have from time to time turned their attention to various aspects of the city and its cemeteries, and have published valuable accounts of their individual discoveries.[1] There would, nevertheless, be an element of truth in such a statement. Many of the more important excavations have remained unpublished; and, except for Stefani's work on the Piazza d'Armi, the problems presented by the buildings and layout of the city itself have been almost entirely neglected. The only serviceable maps of the antiquities of the site remain those published by Gell in 1834, by Canina in 1847, and by Dennis in 1848. As for the buildings of the Etruscan period, the Portonaccio temple, with its celebrated terracotta statues, bears solitary witness to the archaeological riches that await investigation. There are moments when one is almost tempted to believe that some curse has lingered on from antiquity, condemning the remains of Rome's vanquished rival to enduring oblivion.

True, already in Gell's day there was little enough to be seen. There is still less today, and what little does remain is rapidly disappearing, as the *macchia* is cleared, and as fields that have been pasture since Roman times are brought once more into cultivation. There is, however, another side to the picture. The ploughing of ancient grassland or scrub does for a brief while reveal much that has long been hidden. Both within the circuit of the city and in the surrounding countryside there is a brief moment, after the plough has passed and before the disc-harrow has done its work, when it is possible to record a great deal that has not been seen since antiquity and will never be seen again. It is the capture of this fleeting opportunity

[1] And recently Massimo Pallottino and Maria Santangelo.

that is the object of the School's current programme of field-survey; and the purpose of the present article is to put some part of the evidence so acquired on permanent record.

For practical reasons it has been found necessary to subdivide the publication of the material from the Ager Veientanus into two or more sections. The present article covers only the city itself and its immediate surroundings. The emphasis throughout is on the topographical and historical implications of the surviving remains. No attempt has been made, for example, to identify the present location of the finds from the early-nineteenth-century excavations (which produced such well-known pieces as the marble statue of Tiberius in the Museo Chiaramonti); still less to tackle any of the arrears of study and publication arising out of the excavations that have been carried out in the cemeteries on various occasions during the last half-century. These are tasks to be undertaken at leisure by others, better equipped. The current need lies elsewhere—to record, while there is yet time, something of the physiognomy of the ancient site, before the tractor and the bulldozer have carried all before them and the old landmarks have receded into oblivion.

This has not proved as simple a task as it sounds. One of the principal difficulties has been one that had already faced the earlier antiquaries—the absence of an adequate large-scale map of the site. Gell resolved this problem by producing his own map, which by contemporary standards was remarkably accurate. But it was not revised or replaced, and later workers (with the conspicuous exception of Stefani) have mostly been content with generalised verbal descriptions of the sites of their various discoveries. The difficulty still persists. The 1950 edition of the 1:25,000 map produced by the Istituto Geografico Militare (Sheet 142 II S.E., Formello), though a vast improvement on any previous edition, is not only too small but also contains several substantial errors of fact. The maps that accompany the present article were prepared by Mrs. M. H. Ballance with the help of Mr. Ballance, and represent an attempt to combine the information contained on the Istituto Geografico sheet with that derived from a high-level photograph taken by the R.A.F. in 1943 (here reproduced as pl. II), brought up to date by surface observation and with the aid of a series of low-level photographs taken in March 1959 by E.T.A. (Ente Topografico Aerofotogrammatico). Another difficulty has been that the place-names of Veii and district have undergone considerable changes during the century and a half of its history as an archaeological site. As a rule we have followed those in current cartographic use; but we have not hesitated to use the older names (or to give alternative names) where these were already firmly established in archaeological usage.

Finally, it must be stated that the very pace of the modern agricultural development of the whole area makes it virtually impossible to produce a really adequate, up-to-date account of the surviving remains. As these words are being written (2 November 1960) the disc harrow is busy obliterating the visible traces of a Roman villa and of a large group of late Etruscan houses which were ploughed out recently in the Macchia Grande area. During the brief interval while they were exposed we were able to make a summary record of what was visible (see Appendix III, p. 88); but the pressures are such that one cannot really hope to keep abreast with, still less to digest the implications of, all the new material that is coming to light.

And yet it must be recorded; and it can only be recorded intelligibly within the framework of a wider picture of the historical and topographical development of Veii. These facts must be allowed to excuse the imperfections of the present report, which should be regarded as an interim record, and an attempt to provide a basis for further study, rather than a definitive account of this great, but neglected, site.

Like its predecessors, the present report is built on the work of a great many people, both in the field and in the preparation of the maps and other illustrations. The latter are the work of Mr. and Mrs. Michael Ballance, helped in the final stages by Mr. Peter Winchester and by Mr. Alastair Merry; also, for the Appendices, by Miss P. M. Dorrell and Mr. W. Turcan. Among the large number of students, visitors and friends of the School who have taken part in the field work, it is possible to name only a few: Mrs. Betty Eastwood; Mrs. J. Kahane, who has also undertaken the laborious work of filing and recording the collections of surface sherds; Mr. John Crawley, who supervised two small excavations near the North-east Gate; Mr. Guy Duncan, Rome Scholar in Classical Studies, 1957-59; and Mr. G. D. B. Jones, Rome Scholar in Classical Studies, 1959-61. As always, we have received every possible assistance from the Italian Fine Arts authorities: Professor Renato Bartoccini, until June 1960 Superintendent of Antiquities for Southern Etruria; Professor Mario Moretti, his acting successor; Dr. Alfredo De Agostino, Inspector of Antiquities within the Superintendency; and Sigg. Schifano and Zaccagnini, Assistente and Custode respectively for the area that comprises Veii. A special word of thanks is due to Dr. Lucos Cozza, who has made available to us the unpublished maps and records of that assiduous and meticulously precise observer, the late Professor E. Stefani; and to Dr. G. Ambrosetti, who has been most generous of information concerning chance discoveries in recent years within the cemetery areas.

II. THE GATES AND ROADS OF VEII

Any account of ancient Veii is almost bound to start with a reference to what is today the most conspicuous surviving feature of the ancient landscape, the network of roads which led from the town out into the surrounding countryside and, across country, towards the neighbouring cities of Etruria. The onward courses of these roads will be described and discussed in a later article. All that is attempted here is to trace their course in the immediate vicinity of Veii, where they were an important factor in the siting both of the streets within the town and of the cemeteries outside it.

Of these roads, some undoubtedly go right back to Villanovan times. To this group belong the ridgeway to Nepi and the Monti Sabatini; the track leading from the Valle la Fata Gate, almost certainly the earliest road between Veii and Rome; one or more of the tracks leading across country from the North-east Gate in the direction of Capena; and (presumably) the earlier of the two roads leading to Caere. Others, at any rate in their present form, belong to a later phase of the city's development, when there were the means and organisation to undertake the considerable feats of engineering that their construction represents. Some of these later roads may well replace earlier, less pretentious trackways; but the main lines of the development (figs. 1, 5, 6, 15, 16; *cf.* 44–47) seem clear enough.

A number of the Etruscan roads remained in use in Roman times, some as field tracks, others formally adopted and paved to serve the needs of the Roman town. To this latter group belong the 'Via Nepetina,' the Millstream (Portonaccio) road, the 'Via Veientana,' the road leaving the North-east Gate in the direction of Monte Aguzzo, and the Formello road. To avoid unnecessary duplication the remains of both periods are described in the present section.

1. *The North-west Gate.*—The North-west Gate was skilfully sited at the point where the neck of the promontory closed in to form a narrow, elongated saddle of undulating high ground between the two encircling streams, which here run for some distance barely 600 m. apart. This is the point where the present-day Formello road crosses the ridge in a steep, saddle-backed cutting, which is partly modern and partly the deepening of the cutting followed by the medieval road. Above it, along the crest to the right, tower the defences of Veii, and across it at the highest point, where the steep slope up from the Ponte dell'Isola dips and starts to drop no less steeply towards the Ponte di Formello, runs a farm track. This track marks the line of the ancient road, which left the city through the North-west Gate and branched just outside it, the right-hand branch following the crest of the ridge northwards to join the line later followed by the Via Cassia, the left-hand branch striking north-westwards across country, heading for Tarquinii and Vulci (pl. IV).

The first of these two roads must be as old as Veii itself, since it follows the general line of the watershed of which Veii is the terminal promontory, linking it with the Early Iron Age settlements on Monte Sant'Angelo and elsewhere on the Monti Sabatini. For about a kilometre beyond the gate the top of the ridge consists of a loosely connected succession of rounded knolls, and the road follows a line that is more often than not below the actual crest; most of the way it is running in an open but well-marked gully, and strung out along it are cemeteries of all dates from the Villanovan period down to the destruction of the city. Then, beyond the main cemetery area, it strikes through a low transverse ridge and reaches more open ground. Here the exact line is lost, but it must have followed approximately the line of the present-day field track, passing just to the east of the prominent Pisciacavallo tumulus (834583: 'Monte Tondo'); then it swung gradually to the left, off the crest of the steep, scrub-covered cliffs that form the west bank of the Cremera, and dropped into the shallow, rounded valley bottom, where it can be followed as a broad gully to its junction with the Via Cassia at Kilo 22.3, 300 m. south of the derelict Osteria di Pisciacavallo. From here on its line as an independent road is lost, merged with that of the Roman and the modern Via Cassia.

The destruction of Veii did not at first in any way diminish the importance of this ancient road. With the Roman advance into the western Ager Faliscus and the establishment of Latin colonies at Nepet and at Sutrium, this became the principal Roman route up into this part of Etruria, a forward prolongation of the existing Via Veientana. At this stage of its history it may conveniently be referred to as the 'Via Nepetina.' It was paved, perhaps as early as the third quarter of the third century B.C., when the road was once more pushed forward, to Falerii Novi and beyond, creating what later became known as the Via Amerina; and it was not until the building of the Via Cassia (probably in the first half of the second century

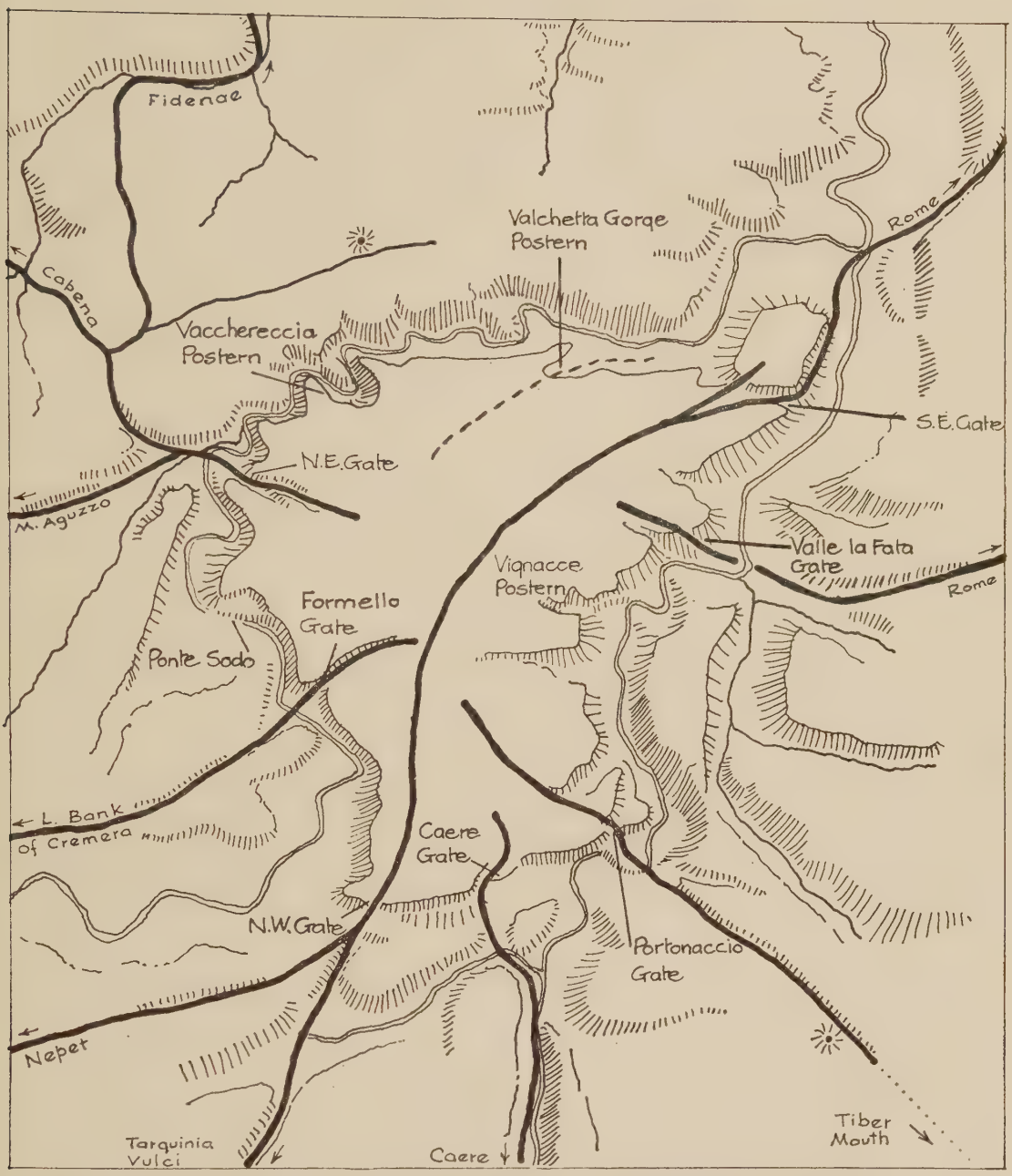


FIG. 1. THE ROADS AND GATES OF VEII, VIEWED FROM THE NORTH-WEST (*cf.* pl. I)

B.C.; the exact date is unknown) that the stretch from Veii to Pisciacavallo ceased to be a main road and passed into purely local use.[1]

The left-hand of the two roads that fork outside the North-west Gate bore left almost immediately, striking obliquely down into the valley of the Fosso di Grotta Gramiccia and up the other side on to the ridge that carries the Via Cassia, and on both slopes it had to be trenched deeply so as to afford an easy gradient for wheeled traffic. The first of these cuttings lies immediately beyond the fork, slicing straight through the middle of one of the rounded knolls that constitute the main cemetery area. Although its dimensions are by no means exceptional, it is, both from its position and associations, one of the most immediately impressive of the Etruscan road-cuttings. Where the road crosses the stream the latter ran in a *cuniculus*, and on the far side a shallow reentrant valley and a long, winding cutting of comparable dimensions carried the road out on to the far ridge beside the recently built Casale Nuovo (831572). After a few hundred metres across open ground the line converges on and crosses that of the Via Cassia at Kilo 20.45, at the entrance to Casale Baccanello I, continuing across it in the same general direction, as a broad, ploughed-in gully.

This road was certainly not as early as its companion. Not only do there not seem to be any early cemeteries along it, but the very choice of route, involving substantial feats of engineering, implies a more advanced stage of social organisation than that represented by the simple ridgeway tracks of primitive usage. On the other hand, its Etruscan date is established beyond question by its relation to the Via Cassia. Except possibly for local farm traffic it went out of use in Roman times. The inhabitants of Roman Veii may have used it as a short cut to the Via Cassia; but they never paved it, and its function as a long-distance road had already passed to the Via Clodia.

Of the actual gate nothing can now be seen, although its position is certain and some of the masonry may lie concealed beneath the dense undergrowth that covers the banks of the cutting. The cutting itself has been deepened considerably since antiquity, traces of the Roman paving and of later metalled surfaces being clearly visible in the sides at several points, in one place nearly 3 m. above the present road-surface. Gell records that the Roman paving was still intact here, or hereabouts, as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the last deepening appears to be of still more recent date.

For the topography and defences of the North-west Gate, and the roads leading from it, see further the account of the excavations undertaken in 1957 and 1958 (*PBSR*, xxvii, 1959, pp. 38–79, especially p. 39, fig. 1, and pp. 76–79).

For the cemeteries outside the gate, see below, pp. 24, 42, *s.v.* Grotta Gramiccia; also Appendix III, p. 89.

For the *cuniculus* that cuts the ridge at this point, carrying water from the Fosso di Formello (Valchetta) to the opposite valley, see p. 50.

2. *The West (Caere) Gate.*—The Caere Gate is perhaps the least immediately impressive of the major exits from the city. For one thing, it is no longer used even by shepherds and is heavily enveloped in scrub. For another, although like most of the ancient gates it involved considerable feats of engineering, the antiquity and

[1] See *JRS*, xlvii, 1957, pp. 142–143.

artificial character of much of this only becomes apparent when it is related certain other artificial features of the ancient landscape.

The most singular of these is that the stream within the Fosso di Grotta Gramiccia has been diverted from its natural course. Instead of running straight on, down what is now a flat, grassy valley, to join the Fosso Piordo just above the water-mill, it now turns sharply to the right and runs beside the Formello road for some 150–200 m., discharging into the Piordo just below the Ponte dell'Isola. The isolated hill that lies to the south of the Formello road just beyond the Ponte dell'Isola[1] was originally the nose of the wedge-shaped promontory of higher ground that separated the Fosso di Grotta Gramiccia from the Fosso Piordo, and the cutting through which the road runs is an artificial one. Furthermore, it is certainly ancient, since Stefani records several small chamber tombs cut into the north side of it (one of these is still partially accessible); the stream, augmented by the water derived from the Cremera, was carried through it, almost certainly in a *cuniculus*, the roof of which has since fallen in; and beside it ran the Caere road.

This road left the plateau by way of a wide, but rather steep, curving cutting, which strikes across the line of the wall some 350 m. south of the North-west Gate and drops straight down into the flat, grassy valley below the ramparts, almost immediately opposite the cutting described in the preceding paragraph. It is not in itself a conspicuous feature but, once recognised, there can be no doubt about its age and purpose; and it will be noticed that the medieval road to Formello, unlike its modern successor, followed the same course right up to the foot of the cliffs before turning sharply left, up a narrow, steep gully, which can still be traced most of the way up the hill, running through the undergrowth above the more deeply-cut modern road. Nothing can now be seen of the Etruscan gate, which must have stood near the cutting. Within the city, air-photographs taken in 1943 suggest that the road curved eastwards again, heading for the track-junction which marks the natural topographical centre of the plateau.

After striking through the cutting just east of the Ponte dell'Isola the road emerged on to level ground, following the north bank of the Fosso Piordo for about 600 m., as far as the Osteria del Fosso. Here the line of the Etruscan road meets and crosses that of the Roman Via Cassia. In its present form the latter, after dropping down the long hill from La Storta bears slightly left through the low, rocky ridge south of the Piordo, crossing the stream itself about 150 m. above the Osteria. This line is of very recent date. Until 1943, when the bridge was destroyed, the modern road followed the line of its Roman predecessor, which bore right at the foot of the hill, through another cutting, and crossed the stream directly opposite the Osteria; here it turned left at right-angles, rejoining the present-day line about 200 m. upstream, opposite the entrance to the Olgiata estate. After more than two millenia of continuous traffic it is not altogether easy to be sure of the original configuration of the ground at this point. It is not impossible that the streams which now discharge into the Fosso Piordo from the south through the Roman cutting had already broken through the ridge, and that the road-cutting is no more than an enlargement of this natural gap. Alternatively (and with the

[1] Now (1960) rapidly being quarried away.

example of the Grotta Gramiccia stream before us, the alternative is a very likely one) the natural course of these streams lay along the valley to the south of the ridge, discharging into the Piordo near the Ponte dell'Isola; it was the cutting of the road that was the occasion of their diversion into their present course, probably through a *cuniculus* that has since collapsed. In favour of the latter alternative it may be noted that almost without exception the numerous southern tributaries of the Piordo that converge upon this point do run for some distance within *cuniculi*. In either case the road-cutting was wholly or largely artificial; and since there does not seem to be any other reason for the Roman engineers to have laid out such an awkward, zig-zag course, we may presume that this cutting, too, was in origin Etruscan. Through it the Caere road crossed to the south side of the ridge; and here, just west of the Via Cassia, the line can in fact be picked up once more, a deep cutting running up through the woodland and out on to the open downs at the south end of the Olgiata estate, heading for Galeria and Caere.

Like the Vulci road this is an engineered highway and, at any rate in this elaborate form, it can hardly represent the route followed by the earliest traffic between Veii and its natural seaward outlet, Caere. Traces of such an earlier route are in fact possibly still to be seen just above the Ponte dell'Isola, where there is a fine natural ford across a very hard, outcropping shelf of tufa, with tracks leading down to it on either bank. This may, of course, be no more than the medieval road-crossing, before the bridge was built. There is, on the other hand, some reason to believe that the medieval road was here following an earlier line, of Roman and possibly even of Etruscan date (see App. IV); and if so, it may also represent an earlier stage of the Caere road, crossing the stream and running along the south side of the ridge, instead of cutting through it higher up. There are in fact a great many tombs along the southern slopes of this ridge, and the line is an easy one, which might well have attracted traffic under primitive conditions.

For the cemeteries associated with this road, see below, pp. 42, 43, *s.v.* Casale del Fosso and Oliveto Grande; also Appendix III, p. 99.

3. *The Portonaccio, or Millstream, Gate.*—Today the visitor to Veii approaches the site by much the same route as did the antiquaries of the early nineteenth century. This is a small by-road (then a woodland track) which leaves the village of Isola Farnese just below the castle walls, and which skirts the western edge of the gorge of the Fosso Piordo, past the modern cemetery, to the water-mill and the falls at the head of the gorge. Here the road stops; but a track crosses the stream, swinging to the right beneath the towering western cliffs of Veii, and after climbing 100 m. or so it forks, the left-hand branch (formerly known as the Via delle Vignacce) zig-zagging sharply up on to the plateau above, while the right-hand branch continues along a narrow terrace, through a ruined eighteenth-century arch ('il Portonaccio'), and so out on to the open, level platform of the Etruscan temple-precinct (fig. 2).

In antiquity the approach was more direct. The road to Veii left the line of the Via Cassia near the present turning to Isola Farnese and struck off north-eastwards in an almost straight line, past the site of the modern cemetery (pl. V) and on across the gorge, the head of which has cut back at least 120 m. since Roman times. Arrived

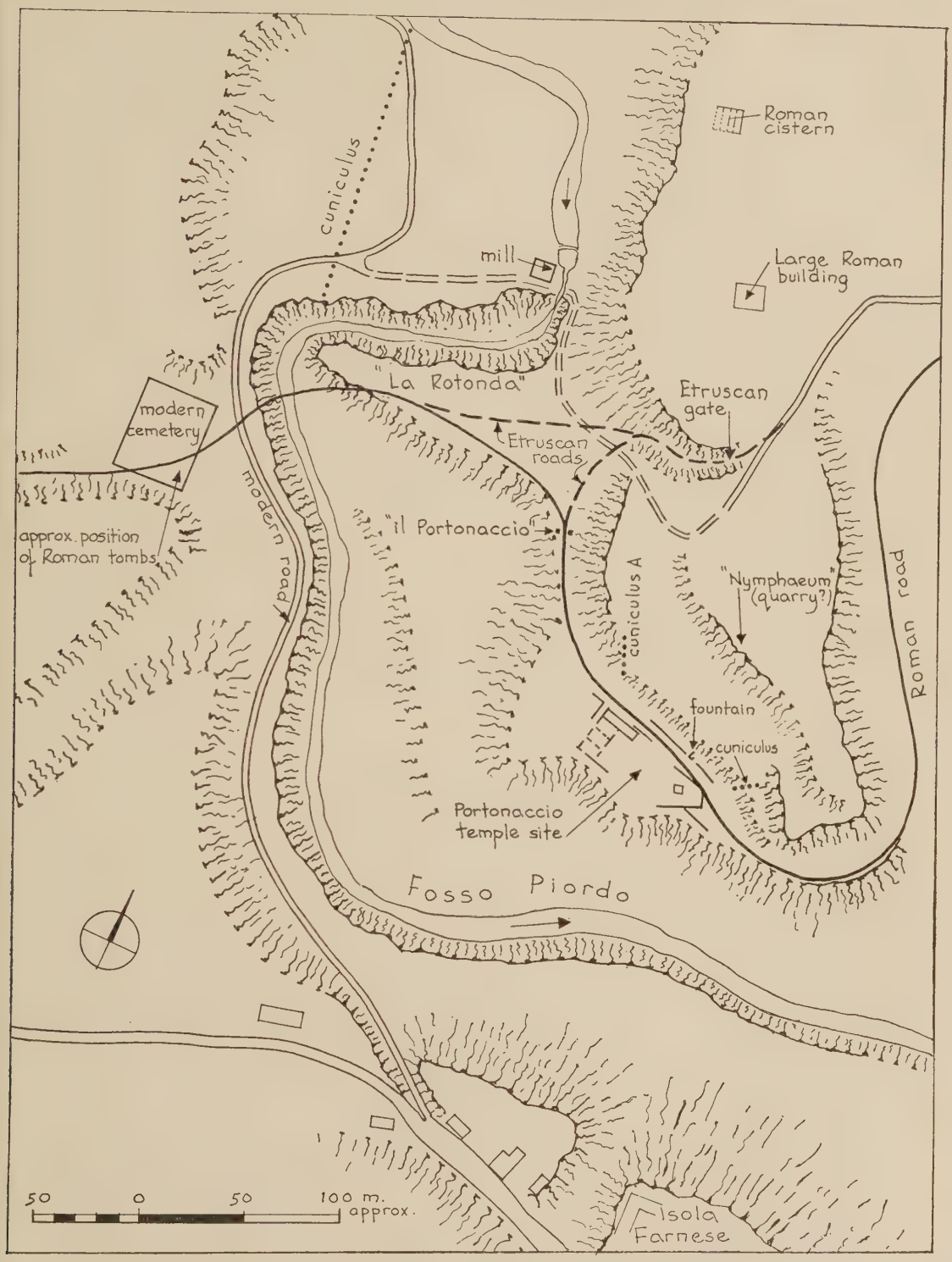


FIG. 2. PORTONACCIO AND THE MILLSTREAM GATE (*cf.* pl. V)

at the foot of the cliffs of Veii, the Etruscan road climbed steeply up beside the modern zig-zag path, emerging on to the plateau through a gate cut in the rock just to the north of it. The Roman road followed a longer but easier line, bearing right along the foot of the cliffs and across the site of the Etruscan sanctuary to join the Valloncello dei Campetti, the picturesque valley that runs down from the plateau just to the east of the Portonaccio site.

Falls of tufa, dense undergrowth and recent improvements to the present path have all combined to obscure the course of the Etruscan road down from the plateau. It must always have been steep and rather difficult for wheeled traffic. The gate lay at the head of the slope, and below it the road probably clung to the right-hand cliff-face for a short distance. Then, half-way down the slope, it appears to have forked, the one branch (now heavily silted) crossing the modern path and leading to the sanctuary, the other dropping into the valley and crossing the stream where nowadays the meadow known as 'la Rotonda' juts out over a sheer gorge, 14 m. deep. On the far side of the valley it can be picked up once more just beyond the modern cemetery, a long, deep cutting, which may in part be natural, but which is in part also certainly artificial. In Roman times it became the principal means of access to the town from the Via Cassia; but that it was already used by the Etruscans is shown by the record of tombs (see p. 43, *s.v.* Oliveto Grande) cut into the rock face near the head of the cutting, where it approaches the track from the Isola Farnese road across to the Ponte dell'Isola. The Roman road joined the Cassia at an acute angle just to the north-east of the present road-fork. One branch of its Etruscan predecessor may well have followed roughly the same line, following the ridgeway southwards from La Storta in the direction of Rome; another certainly continued south-westwards down the ridge that carries the modern road from La Storta to Ponte Galera, linking Veii directly with the lower Tiber valley.

The Water-mill. As it stands today, just above the picturesque cascade, the water-mill is of no great age. The plaque over the door bears the enigmatic date '18∩8'; and although the establishment of an artificial mill-pool just above the falls must have greatly reduced the rate of erosion, there can be little doubt that in quite late Roman times the latter lay some 120–150 m. downstream, below the Roman road. This rate of erosion may at first sight seem to be unduly rapid. But a comparable date is attested at Nepi under very similar circumstances where the Via Amerina crosses the Fosso del Cerro to the north of the town.[1] In neither case is it reasonable to suppose that the Roman engineers would have undertaken a major bridging operation (of which there is not the slightest trace) when a very slight detour would have carried the road simply and easily round the head of the gorge. It follows that, even if the institution of a water-mill hereabouts were to prove to be no earlier than the medieval village of Isola Farnese, the original building would probably have lain some distance downstream. If, as is very likely, there was already a mill here in Roman times, it must have been somewhere opposite the modern cemetery, beside or below the Roman road; and in that case it may well have been fed by the otherwise unexplained *cuniculus* which leaves the stream about 150 m. above the present mill-pool and discharges into the gorge in the angle below the present falls. For a further discussion of the antiquity of the water-mill, see below, p. 51. The mill did not finally go out of use until after the Second World War.

The Etruscan Gate. The remains of a rock-cut gateway can be seen in the undergrowth immediately to the north of the point where the present track emerges on to open ground. The north jamb has broken away and slipped forward, but the south jamb is intact. The carriage-way measures 3·20 m. and there are what appear to be ancient ruts (they certainly antedate the present track) in

[1] *PBSR*, xxv, 1957, p. 90.

the exposed rock-surface just above. There are several slots and rectangular recesses in the rock-face of the gate, but the significance and date of these are uncertain.

Immediately below the gate the cliffs consist of a soft, friable rock, and there have been heavy falls; there has also been a considerable wash of soil down from the plateau. It looks as if one branch, now deeply silted, bore left across the present track, and joined the lower path just outside the ruined archway, 'il Portonaccio.' The main line of the ancient road must have continued more or less straight down the slope, crossing the stream at approximately the same point as the Roman road. Stefani (*Not. Scav.* 1953, pp. 95–97) found two Etruscan tombs along this line, just to the east of the stream, in the meadow 'la Rotonda.'

For the Etruscan cemeteries associated with this road, see p. 43, *s.v.* Oliveto Grande.

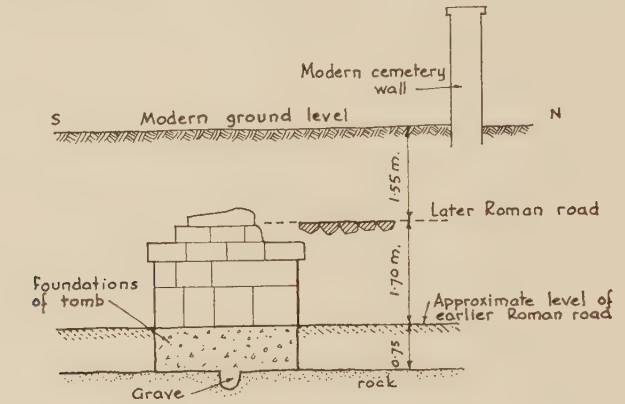
The Roman road and its associated remains. The modern road to Isola Farnese leaves the Via Cassia at Kilo 17·65. The ancient line of the Cassia at this point lies some 50–60 m. to the east of the present road, running within a cutting which had already passed out of use by the middle of the last century, and which is today being rapidly obliterated by building and cultivation. The Roman *diverticulum* struck off to the right just north of the Isola Farnese road, and it appears to have been still paved, or partially paved, when Canina saw it and marked it on his map (pl. II; there is some confusion, however, on Canina's map, since he clearly believed the paved road to continue north-eastwards along the line of the medieval road to Ponte dell'Isola and Formello; neither he nor any other of the nineteenth-century antiquaries seems to have observed the very striking cutting which bisects the angle between this road and the road to Isola Farnese, and which carried the Etruscan and Roman roads down to the Piordo crossing). The paving was seen again when the cemetery of Isola Farnese was enlarged. Here Stefani observed and recorded a very interesting section (*Not. Scav.*, 1935, pp. 361–365; here reproduced as fig. 3, *a*) in which the *selce* paving could be seen to override and partially to destroy two tombs, both probably of Augustan date and built when the road-surface was 1·70 m. lower. The earlier road-surface was unpaved.

The line of the Roman road is picked up again on the cliffs immediately beyond the gorge of the Fosso Piordo, directly opposite the cemetery, running along the south edge of what is now the cliff-girt promontory of 'la Rotonda,' but which was presumably then the head of the gorge. There is not the least trace of any bridge, the construction of which, even assuming the gorge to have widened greatly since antiquity, would have been a very major undertaking, quite out of character with the rather shoddy workmanship of the road itself. Within 'la Rotonda' Stefani (*Not. Scav.*, 1935, p. 93, fig. 63; plan, Tav. I) exposed a length of about 30 m. of a road-surface (his trench can still be followed, and at one point the paving is still exposed), and he records an interesting section with the paving resting on fill above the deeply-rutted tufa surface of the earlier, unpaved road; the paved road is here 2·20 m. wide (fig. 3, *b*). Just within the Portonaccio arch a recent trench revealed the left-hand margin of the paving below the right-hand edge of the modern path, and beyond this point the excavators found it intact (and subsequently removed a part of it) right across the Portonaccio site and out across the far shoulder; the width is again 2·20 m. At the point where it overlay the buried north-east angle of the Etruscan precinct, Stefani records another section (*Not. Scav.*, 1953, fig. 8; *cf.* fig. 64). Once again there are the remains of earlier, rutted road-surfaces beneath the Roman paving, in this case two successive levels, both roughly metalled; below these lay the Etruscan sanctuary road (the surface of this does not seem to have been specifically observed) about 1·40 m. below the Roman paving; and below this again, another 2·35 m. was a primitive, pre-sanctuary rock-cut track (fig. 3, *c*). These figures offer an interesting commentary on the rate of accumulation around the foot of the cliffs of Veii.

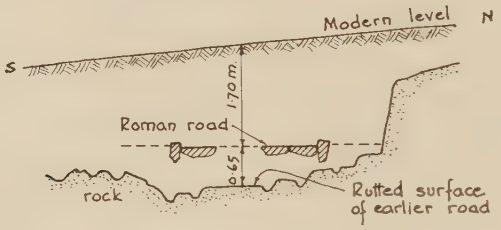
At the far end of the precinct it was necessary to build a massive retaining wall (see fig. 8, p. 29) to carry the road up on to the rocky nose of the promontory beyond the Etruscan sanctuary. Here a few blocks of the left-hand margin are still in place, but the rest of the road, revetment and all, has long fallen into the valley below. Beyond the promontory the line of the road can be followed as a broad, grass-grown shelf, swinging left up the left-hand edge of the Valloncello dei Campetti, which offers an easy line right up to the centre of the Roman town. When the road was first laid this shelf may well have been largely artificial; but with the passage of time the contours have lost their edge, and it is no longer possible to distinguish the work of man from that of nature. At one point Stefani (*ibid.*, fig. 65) cut a section, which revealed the paving beneath some 2 m. of accumulated soil, and below it again, some 2 m. deeper, the remains of earlier structures in squared tufa masonry.

An unusual feature of this road, noted by Stefani (*ibid.*, p. 93; *cf.* his fig. 5) and still visible in the surviving stretch of road at the west end of the Portonaccio site (pl. VII, *b*), is that the paving-blocks are laid neatly and continuously along the two edges, against the usual pitched *margines*, but that there is a narrow, irregular gap down the centre of the road. Many, possibly all, of the paving-blocks are reused, and this device was not only economical in materials but would have

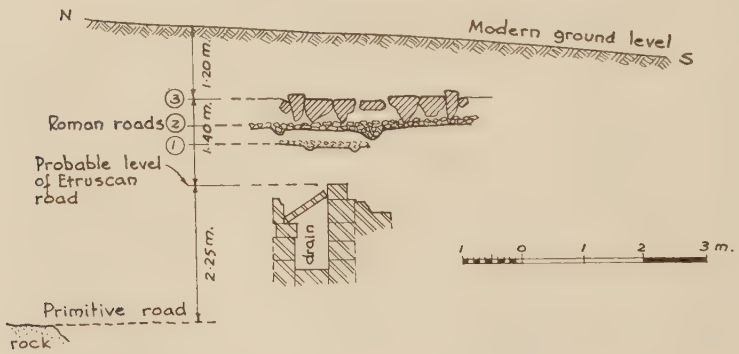
greatly facilitated the fitting and laying of the blocks, with a minimum of recutting. Though reasonably efficient for light traffic, the resulting road-surface would, however, have been far less compact and durable than a road paved in the conventional manner, and such a practice would never have been countenanced by the road-engineers of the early Empire. For a photograph of this road when first excavated, see *Not. Scav.*, 1919, p. 17, fig. 4.



1. BESIDE THE CEMETERY OF ISOLA FARNESE [1935]



2. CROSSING "LA ROTONDA"



3. CROSSING THE SITE OF THE PORTONACCIO TEMPLE

FIG. 3. SECTIONS ACROSS THE PORTONACCIO ROMAN ROAD (after Stefani). See p. 11

Roman burials are recorded at two points along the road. Of the two mausolea beside the modern cemetery (see above) one was a plain square structure built of well-cut tufa masonry, fastened with iron cramps; it survived four courses high and beneath it was found a shallow grave, empty except for the scanty remains of a skeleton. The other was built in tufa *opus reticulatum* with small tufa blocks (*tufelli*). Both must be of Augustan date, or thereabouts, and the paved road, at a

level 1·70 m. above that associated with the tombs, must be considerably later (fig. 3, *a*). Another small cemetery was found during the Portonaccio excavations (Stefani, *Not. Scav.*, 1953, pp. 97–102). This consisted of a number of poor inhumation burials, to the south of the road in the western part of the site, west of the main precinct. Most of them were covered with tiles (*a cappuccina*) and there were several simple grave stelae. The grave furniture was poor; it included two lamps inscribed COPPI-RES.

Another feature of probably Roman date is the roadside cistern and fountain just above the Etruscan altar on the opposite side of the road (*Not. Scav.*, 1953, pp. 88–90, fig. 61). The level of the foundation offset is too low to have gone with the paved road; but it is certainly later than a piped water-supply which in turn is later than the destruction of the Etruscan temple, being largely built of roof-tiles from the temple. It was probably built to stand beside the Roman road in one of its earlier, unpaved stages.

4. *The Vignacce Postern.*—On the south side of the plateau, opposite Isola Farnese, there is a gently sloping reentrant valley leading up from the meadows beside the Fosso Piordo towards the centre of the town. Here might seem to be the obvious line for a road leading southwards. Unfortunately, the onward route down the valley and round the end of the Isola Farnese was blocked, in antiquity as now, by a narrow, rocky defile. Instead, therefore, there was only a path leading down to the stream which forked just below the main plateau, with two narrow openings, cut through the low tufa cliffs that delimit the head of the lower part of the valley. The western opening is certainly partly artificial, with vertical rock-cut sides. Immediately outside, cut in the same cliffs, are the remains of a number of chamber tombs, some of Roman and some possibly of late Etruscan date; and there are records of thermal springs having existed in the valley beside the stream.

The slopes of the valley are now heavily overgrown, but several tombs and other features can be seen cut into the cliffs on the east side. One of these, just above the fork (fig. 18, no. 1), is a small barrel-vaulted, rock-cut chamber-tomb, 2·32 m. wide and 2·56 m. deep. The doorway is plain except for a slight lateral widening at the top, and within there were two funerary benches, now almost entirely concealed by silted earth. That on the left runs the full length of the tomb, the grave being recessed into the upper surface, with a rebated border to hold the closure slabs; that on the right is only 1·80 m. long, with a small cut-away at the far end.

Further down the valley on the same side are the remains of several Roman tombs, for which see pp. 73–75. For traces of what may have been the catchment basin for a hot spring in the valley-bottom, see p. 83.

5. *The Valle la Fata Gate.*—The least conspicuous of the gates of ancient Veii is that situated on the cliffs overlooking the Valle la Fata and the junction of the Fosso della Storta and the Fosso Piordo, where they meet, just below the nose of the Isola Farnese promontory, to form the Fosso Due Fossi. Here, beside the stream, was one of the earliest cemeteries of Veii, dating back to Villanovan times, and from this cemetery a path leads up the hillside, through the low cliffs that define the crest and out on to the plateau about 250 m. south-west of the Casale Domenici. The soft, shelving rocks of the lower slopes have doubtless undergone many superficial changes since antiquity, but the position of the gate itself is clearly marked and the antiquity of the exit at this point is established both by the presence of the cemetery and by the remains that lie across the valley to the south. In the actual valley-bottom all traces of antiquity have been buried beneath a deep blanket of silt (the cemetery was exposed by the action of the stream, which has cut a deep channel through the silt). But climbing obliquely up through the undergrowth that covers the steep western slopes of Monte Campanile there are the deeply scored ridges and

gullies of an ancient pack-trail. Towards the top these coalesce into a single V-shaped cutting and the line can be followed, at first as a scarped bank against the edge of the valley that delimits Monte Campanile towards the east, and then as a terrace or an earth-filled depression, running obliquely across the Casale del Pino estate to join the line of the Via Cassia, at approximately Kilo 15·5. On Monte Campanile itself there are traces of Villanovan settlement as well as the tombs of an Etruscan cemetery; and between here and the Via Cassia the line of the road is marked by an almost continuous scatter of occupation, mostly of Roman date but including at least two recognisably Etruscan sites.

This can never have been more than a pack-trail; but it is clearly of great antiquity and may in fact not unreasonably be regarded as the original road from Veii to Rome, which it enters along the Via Triumphalis. Later, with the increasing demands of wheeled traffic, it was superseded by the easier but longer routes which left the city by the Portonaccio and South-east gates respectively.

For the Villanovan cemetery in the valley, see p. 25; for the Etruscan cemeteries on the slopes of M. Campanile, p. 43.

The position of the gate is marked by a vertically trenched cutting in the rock, of which the east face is almost intact, with a short return at right-angles to it at the north end; the west side has fallen, but traces of the worked face are visible on the fallen blocks. Just outside the gate there are the remains of foundations of tufa blocks stepped into the rock, but they are too scanty to form any coherent plan. Though steep, the slopes down to the valley are nowhere precipitous, and despite heavy erosion the present path probably follows roughly the line of its ancient predecessor.

For an air photograph of the road from the point where it emerges on to the open ground behind M. Campanile to its junction with the Via Cassia, see J. S. P. Bradford, *Ancient Landscapes*, London, 1957, pl. 14. The following sites have been noted along it:

847547. At several points on the crest of M. Campanile, Villanovan sherds, including a fragment of a domestic hearth-stand.

843541–843543. The positive lynchet above the road-scarp contains sherds of all periods, all that remains of a site, or sites, that stood on the crest of the ridge and has now been entirely destroyed by ploughing.

843540. At the angle of the Casale del Pino enclosure, two holes, now almost entirely filled with earth. Rifled tombs?

843539. All across the next field are the remains (far more plentiful when the site was first visited, 5–6 years ago) of an extensive Roman building. Brick, tile, blocks of tufa; *opus spicatum*, mosaic tesserae; traces of a structure still in position at the highest point.

841537. About 15 m. south of the hedge, the ploughed-out debris of a Roman pottery kiln.

840534–5. 150–200 m. south of the kiln, on the crest of the ridge, a site which includes two small but determinate groups of Etruscan wares, including impasto and tile; also black-glazed and other Roman pottery. A short distance beyond, a few sherds of bucchero.

6. *The South-east Gate.*—At the extreme south-east end of the plateau the cliffs of the Piazza d'Armi rise almost sheer above the confluence of the two streams that delimit the site of the city. Only towards the north-west was it overlooked from the slightly higher ground within the city (pl. X), and on this side there is a deep, rock-cut ditch running almost the whole way across the neck, leaving a saddle only a few metres wide near the north-east end. It is possible that there was already a natural reentrant along a part of this line. In its present form, however, the cutting is certainly largely artificial, serving the double purpose of strengthening the landward defences of the acropolis and of housing the road that led down from the plateau into the valley of the Cremera.

In Roman times this was the road which, prior to the building of the Via Cassia,

linked Rome and Veii, and which is conventionally known as the Via Veientana. That there was a road here already in Etruscan times is probable, but not certain. The slopes on either side of the river-junction are devoid of any traces of chamber-tombs; and if there were ever any early cemeteries in the valley-bottom, they have either been washed away or else covered in alluvial silt. There is, however, a tumulus, almost certainly of Etruscan date, prominently sited on the cliff-edge (862537), just beside the point where the road climbs out on to the plateau south of the river; and it is surely significant that it was this, and not the Portonaccio road, that was adopted by the Romans as the line of the first stretch of the important road which led north, through Veii, to Nepet and Sutrium (p. 60. There must have been a road capable of carrying wheeled traffic between Etruscan Veii and Rome, and it seems very likely indeed, therefore, that this was it and that, like most of the other Roman roads of Veii, the Via Veientana too was originally of Etruscan construction.

In its Roman form the road is an extension of the main axial street leading south-eastwards from the city-centre along the southern one of the two ridges that constitute this end of the plateau. A few hundred metres short of the Piazza d'Armi it diverges to the right of the modern cart-track along the crest and drops into a broad depression, which rapidly deepens into a cutting (pls. IX, X), until its reaches the Piazza d'Armi, where it swings sharply to the right beneath the north-western defences of the citadel (pl. XI,), and so round the western shoulder into the main valley. Along the south-western side of the Piazza it can be followed as a broad, terraced way, about a third of the way down the slope, dropping gently at first and then sharply down the nose into the level plain. Here it is momentarily lost to sight beneath the accumulation of alluvial silt; but the south abutment of the Roman bridge can still be seen in the river bank immediately above the junction of the two streams; and a short distance beyond it the line is once more clearly visible, running past the so-called Fontana di Re Carlo (a Roman road-side fountain-building) and up a cutting on to the plateau, just beside the tumulus referred to above. South of the stream there are plentiful traces of *selce* paving, including short stretches still in position. To the north it was still intact in many places at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but, as Gell records, it was systematically rooted out in the 'twenties. A certain number of blocks could still be seen a few years ago, beneath the nose of the promontory, but even these have mostly now disappeared, broken up for road metalling. Gell also saw blocks of squared stone within the cutting, on the site of what he took to be the gate. These, too, seem to have vanished soon afterwards. Dennis could see nothing, and today, despite the clearance of the undergrowth, there is no trace of the actual gate. It must have stood somewhere near the head of the cutting between the Piazza d'Armi and the main plateau. Immediately above it a track led sharply up to the right on to the narrow saddle in front of the gate into the Piazza d'Armi; the main road swung left and so out on to the open ground within the city.

For Roman tombs just above the road, on the edge of the Piazza d'Armi, see p. 75.

For the bridge across the Fosso Due Fossi, just above its junction with the Valchetta, for the road-side fountain a short distance beyond it (the 'Fontana del Re Carlo') and in general for the onward course of the Via Veientana and its associated monuments, see *PBSR* xxiii, 1955, pp. 45–58.

7. *The Valchetta Gorge Postern* (?).—The reentrant valley which is described later in connection with an unusually well preserved stretch of the Etruscan city-walls offers an easy exit on to the upper slopes overlooking the Cremera gorge, whence it would have been quite easy to carry a path obliquely down to the stream and along the foot of the northern flank of the Piazza d'Armi, and so out into the main Cremera valley. There is no trace of a substantial engineered road; but the line is an obvious one, prolonging as it does that of the main axial valley of the Veii plateau, and it is even possible that before the cutting and terracing of the Via Veientana this was the principal exit from the city in a south-easterly direction. There may very well, therefore, have been a postern at this point, although there is in fact no hint of any such feature in the section of walling now exposed. There must certainly have been some access to the cemetery below.

For the walls at the head of this valley, see p. 36; for the cemetery on the slopes of the Macchia della Comunitá, p. 43.

8. *The Vaccherecia Postern.*—The nineteenth-century antiquaries locate a second gate, or postern, some 750 m. north of this, at a point corresponding to 855562 on the modern map, north-east of the Casale Cabrioli. There is a strong element of confusion in their accounts of the road which this gate is alleged to have served (see Appendix I, p. 82); and none of them claims to have seen any sign of an actual gate. There is, on the other hand, a well marked, winding gully cutting across the line of the defences; and from this a steep path zig-zags down to the stream and up the other side, to the Casale Vaccherecia. On the whole, it seems likely that there was a small postern here, offering a short cut across the gorge to the fields on the Vaccherecia promontory. There can never have been a road suitable for wheeled traffic.

9. *The North-east (Capena) Gate.*—After running in an easterly direction for rather more than a kilometre below the Ponte di Formello, the Valchetta swings sharply south towards the Piazza d'Armi. Above this point, along the northern edge of the ancient site, it is already a substantial feature, with steep cliffs at many points; but the valley bottom is generally quite wide and easily accessible, and there are several secondary valleys running in from the north. Below it along the eastern side of the town, it changes character sharply. Here the stream winds its way along the foot of a deep, wooded gorge, beneath steeply-shelving cliffs, broken only by a few shallow reentrants and traversable, if at all, by steep, woodland paths. The head of this gorge, where the stream swings southwards, was the lowest point at which the valley could be crossed without great effort, and it was thus the most easterly point of easy communication between the city and the main body of the Ager Veientanus lying to the north and east.

The North-east, or Capena, Gate lay exactly opposite this point, on the low headland of hard tufa that projects northwards from the city-plateau to form the inner shoulder of the bend. Here it was possible to bring the road to stream-level along a relatively easy gradient, whilst a shelf of harder tufa offered an easy crossing of the stream-bed itself; and on the far side a short stretch of open meadow-land and a group of small confluent valleys offered a choice of routes out on to the higher ground beyond (pls. VI, XXXI). Even without artificial improvement this was

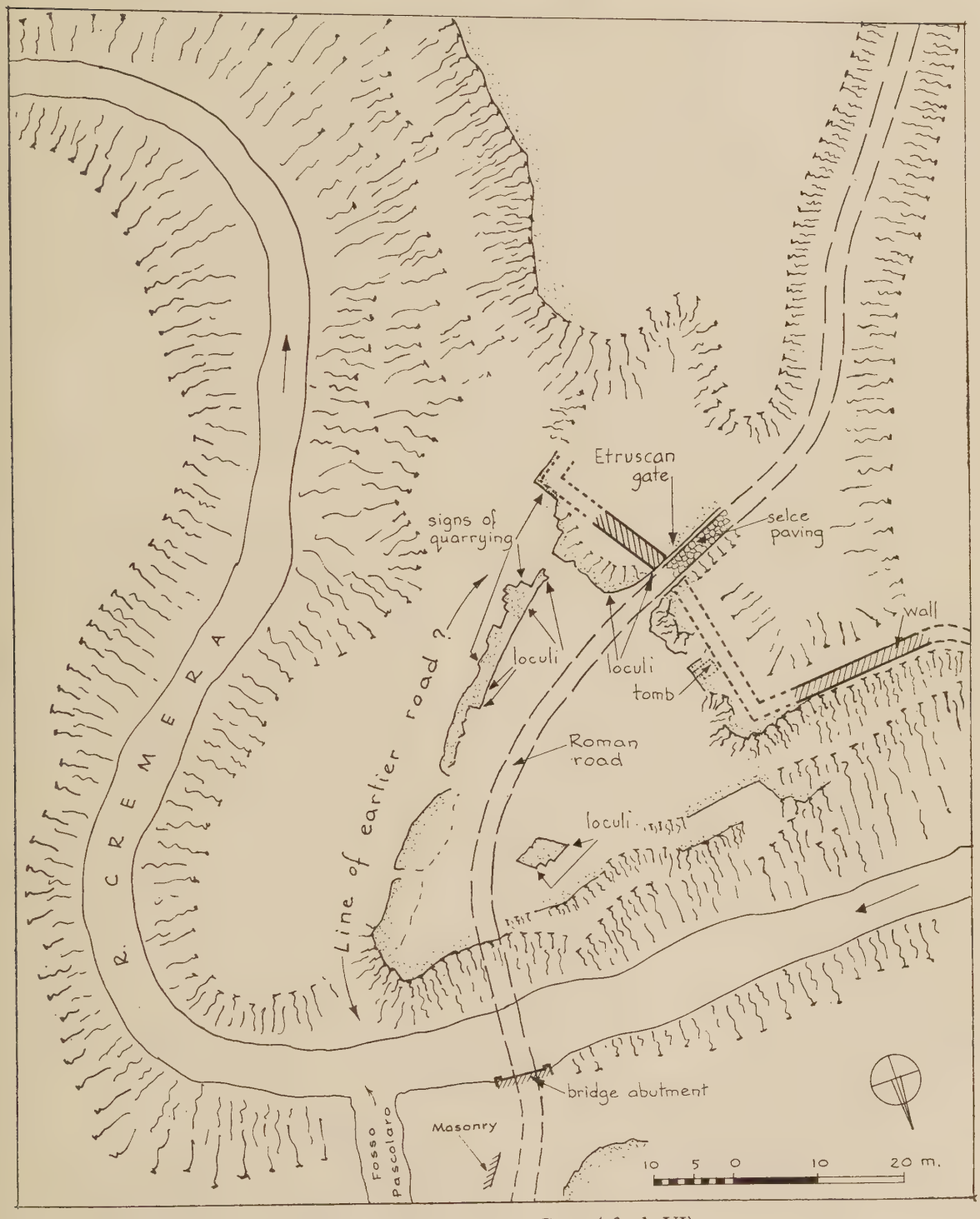


FIG. 4. THE NORTH-EAST GATE (*cf.* pl. VI)

an obvious crossing-point, used already by the earliest inhabitants of Veii, whose cemeteries can be seen on the hills immediately to the north-east and north-west of the crossing (pl. XXXI). In Etruscan times it became one of the principal exits from the city, the focal point of a group of important roads serving the whole area from Monte Aguzzo round to Prima Porta. It remained in use in Roman times. Today, with the collapse of the Roman bridge, it is a deserted country lane, used only by shepherds.

Within the city the line of the ancient road is clearly visible as a large V-shaped cutting, striking off from the crest of the plateau at a point some 300 m. west of the modern Casale Cabrioli. The upper part is of considerable dimensions, attaining a depth of as much as 12–14 m. where it strikes through a prominent tufa bluff; below this, the ground slopes more uniformly towards the river and the cutting takes on a shallower and more nearly straight-sided profile, reminiscent of some of the roads in the Ager Faliscus and very possibly indicative of Roman recutting. The lower part was certainly paved in Roman times, a well-preserved stretch of characteristic *selce* paving being exposed on the site of the actual gate a short distance above the area known to the nineteenth-century antiquaries as 'la Spezeria' or 'il Colombario.'

The road crossed the stream on a bridge, the surviving remains of which are of Roman date. It had substantial masonry abutments, although the span itself was probably of timber; and, together with the quarrying along the line of the south abutment, it has completely obliterated any certain trace of the earlier, Etruscan crossing. It is by no means impossible that in its latest form this, too, was a bridge of similar type; it is not easy to see how else a substantial carriageway (such as, for example, the Pietra Pertusa road certainly was in the fifth century B.C.) could have crossed the river without leaving some trace of the deep cutting that would have been needed to carry it down to stream-level. There must, however, have been a yet earlier stage when the crossing was by way of a shallow ford, making use of the rocky shelf that can still be seen in the stream-bed, partly eroded and partly covered by the silt settled in the lee of the north abutment.

For a short distance beyond the bridge the accumulation of soil on the flat meadowland has obliterated all trace of the ancient road. To right and left are prominent bluffs, crowned by ancient cemeteries, some of which date back to Villanovan times. In front is the southern spur of Monte Michele, also the site of a large, early cemetery, which included the famous Campana Tomb. Here, immediately after crossing the shallow stream of the Fosso del Pascolaro, the road forked, passing to right and left of Monte Michele. The left-hand branch can be seen climbing up a broad, tomb-lined cutting, which for part of its length may have made use of a natural reentrant, but which is also in part artificial (pl. XXVII, *b*). It crossed the ridge, dipped across a shallow, cuniculated valley, climbed across the saddle of Monterozzo, and set off across open, gently-rolling country in a generally north-north-easterly direction towards the Passo dello Scannato and Monte Aguzzo. The right-hand branch swung east up a valley, which is now choked with undergrowth, but which can be seen to have been greatly enlarged artificially at many points. Just short of the crest of the ridge it joins and crosses a partly disused farm-track, leading northwards past the Casale Piano Roseto towards Formello, and

southwards towards the Casale Vaccherecia. The southern branch of this track is itself ancient, running south for some 150 m. up an artificial cutting, and then turning sharply east and heading across-country towards Prima Porta; at the point where it turned east another track continued south, out on to the Vaccherecia ridge. The main line of the ancient road crossed the farm track and can be traced running in a generally east-north-easterly direction towards Casale Santa Cornelia, just short of which it forked, the left-hand and earlier branch leading ultimately to Capena, the right-hand branch heading for the Tiber valley by way of the tunnel that leads under the Via Flaminia ridge at Pietra Pertusa. These were all substantial roads, serving the heart of the Ager Veientanus, and linking Veii with its neighbours to the north-east and with the important river-crossing of the Tiber valley.

For the North-east Gate, see fig. 4. The actual gate-cutting may have been deepened in Roman times, the footings of the Etruscan masonry being visible in section well above the present pavement level. The cutting is 3·15 m. wide, and the Roman road-surface 2·20, between the customary up-ended kerb-blocks (*margines*); the deeply worn ruts indicate an average wheel-span of 1·24 m. A 40 cm.-wide packing of tufa blocks, set between the outer face of the western kerb and the face of the cutting, is presumably the basis of a raised drainage-runnel; *cf.* the elaborate drainage arrangements exposed by Stefani (*Not. Scav.*, 1922, p. 385) about 100 m. up the cutting, at a point where the main road down from the plateau was joined by a smaller side road, also of Etruscan date (see p. 52).

The whole of the lower slopes of the nose of the promontory had already been extensively quarried when the road was paved in its present form, and the vertical faces of the road-cutting and of the quarries to right and left are honeycombed with tombs ('il Colombario,' or 'la Spezeria'). One of these (Canina, pl. XXIV; Dennis, p. 9) is a small chamber tomb, the rest Roman cinerary recesses of late Republican or early Imperial date. For this cemetery, see further p. 75.

For the Roman bridge, see p. 62. Just beyond it and slightly oblique to it is a line of tufa blocks, which presumably marks the edge of the embanked roadway. A section of the Roman paving is exposed in the bed of the Fosso del Pascolaro.

10. *The Ponte Sodo Postern.*—About half-way between the North-east and the Formello Gates the river is carried in an artificial channel through a low bluff that projects northwards from the main plateau. This is the so-called 'Ponte Sodo'; and although its primary purpose may well have been the elimination of flooding, it did, as its name implies, also constitute an easy, gently sloping line of communication between the city and the fields and cemeteries beyond the river. There is no trace of any substantial ancient road—rather surprisingly, in view of the very easy gradients on both sides of the stream. But there must always have been a busy local track and, after the construction of the walls towards the end of the fifth century, a secondary gate, or postern, to serve it. Of this gate there is no trace, although it may well have lain approximately at the point where today the modern path cuts through the bank that appears to mark the line of the ancient walls.

For the Ponte Sodo, see p. 49. The 'double gate' recorded by Gell and by Dennis (Appendix I, p. 83) is in reality a feature of no great antiquity.

11. *The Formello Gate.*—To judge from the size of the cutting, one of the principal roads leading out of Veii towards the north was that which crossed the Valchetta about 400 m. west of the Ponte Sodo. At this point the northern slopes of the plateau are fairly steep in places, but nowhere precipitous; the valley is open, with firm, dry meadowland on both banks; and a shelf of unusually hard tufa offers a good crossing on foot in all but the wettest of weather. The road leaves the ridge

beside the track-junction that marks the centre of the ancient city and heads for the valley down a long, straight cutting, which brings it out into the head of a small, triangular reentrant of level ground beside the river. The cutting, which forms the boundary between the *contrade* Campetti and Macchiagrande, is deep but featureless, except for short stretches of tufa walling high up in the banks, none of which bear any very obvious relation to the defences. Until the exact line of the city-wall can be established the location of the gate must remain uncertain.

To the north of the stream, within the *contrada* Picazzano, the line of the ancient road is less immediately obvious, since it hugs the left-hand edge of the small re-entrant valley which at this point runs obliquely up towards the Formello road; here it has been scarped into the bottom of the slope, and after rain it carries off all the surface water within the valley, scouring out a channel which at first glance might well be that of a natural stream-bed. Half-way up the rise, however, it changes character, striking into the upper slopes as a well-marked cutting, which swings gently to the right and emerges on to the open ground just below and to the east of the modern road at Kilo 2·2. From here onwards for over a kilometre both the ancient and the modern roads cross open, level ground, following approximately the same line until, a short distance before the Via Santa Cornelia fork (Kilo 3·6), the former diverges gently to the left and, just after the fork, drops into the wide and very conspicuous cutting that runs up the ridge to the west of Formello, in the direction of the Sorbo crater.

This road, which struck northwards from the centre of the Roman town and led through country that is dotted with remains of Roman villas, was certainly in active use in Roman times, and it is to this later period that we must attribute the surviving remains of a bridge across the Cremera (see below, p. 62). But there can be little doubt that the Roman inhabitants of Veii were here using a line already established and engineered by their Etruscan predecessors. This was the natural route up to the east bank of the Cremera; and although here, as elsewhere within the Ager Veientanus, authentic records of Etruscan finds are scanty (there are no major sites, and chance finds almost inevitably find their way surreptitiously into the clandestine market), tombs of the sixth century B.C. have certainly been found beside the road just west of Formello and others are recorded near Formello itself.[1] Whether it linked Veii with any of the more distant centres, or whether it was primarily intended to serve the local communities within the northern Ager Veientanus, remains to be determined by further work on the ground in and around the Sorbo crater.

III. VILLANOVAN VEII (fig. 5)

The roads and gates described in the previous section are of very varied dates, and many of them were in use over a long period. They have been described first because they constitute the essential framework for any serious topographical study of Veii. Within this framework the city developed, and in this and the following sections will be found described, period by period, the evidence for that

[1] *Not. Scav.*, 1922, pp. 215–219.

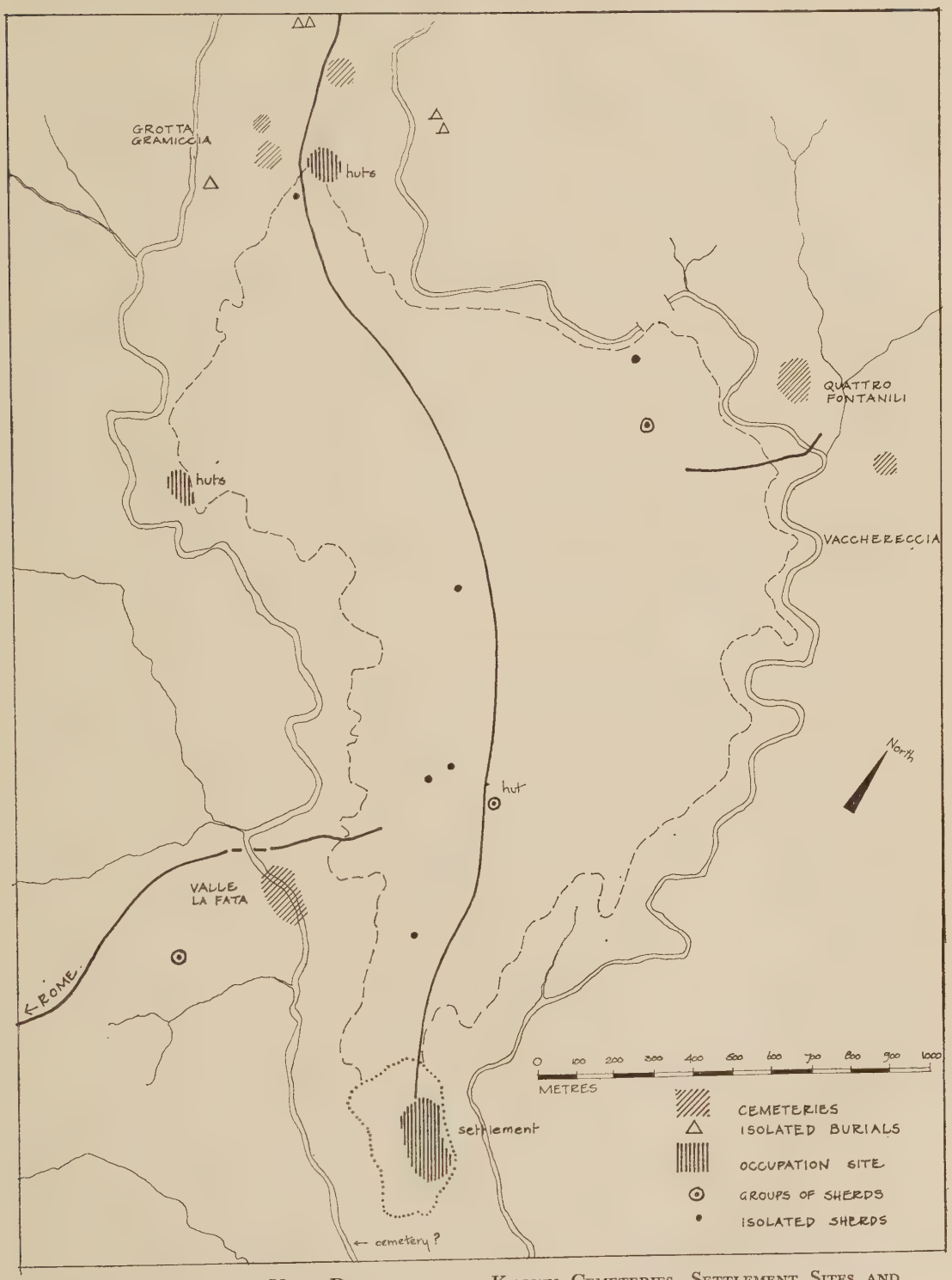


FIG. 5. VILLANOVAN VEII: DISTRIBUTION OF KNOWN CEMETERIES, SETTLEMENT SITES AND ISOLATED FINDS OF DECORATED POTTERY. Plain pottery that is possibly but not certainly Villanovan is not included

development, from the first establishment of Veii in Villanovan times down to its final abandonment in late antiquity.

Whatever the precise relationship of the Villanovan to the succeeding phases of the Early Iron Age in central Italy in terms of politics, race or language, it is abundantly clear that it was within the Villanovan period that the main lines of the social and topographical framework of historical Etruria first took shape. Veii is no exception. Apart from sporadic material that may have been dropped by Neolithic or Bronze Age hunters, there is nothing from the Ager Veientanus to suggest that it was the scene of any substantial settlement before the occupation of Veii itself by groups of Early Iron Age farmers, a part of whose material equipment relates them unequivocally to the Villanovan peoples of coastal and central Etruria.

The evidence for this early phase of the occupation of Veii comes in part from the cemeteries, in part from the excavation or exposure by cultivation of the remains of the settlements themselves. It is demonstrably far from complete. The largest of the cemeteries, excavated forty years ago, has remained unpublished and its material until very recently inaccessible; and the only occupation site to have been both systematically excavated and published is itself only a small part of a single settlement, that on the hilltop to the north of the North-west Gate. Such as it is, however, the evidence is clear and consistent; and the picture that it conveys is that of a group of small villages, loosely associated within the larger geographical framework of the plateau of Veii, but originally at any rate distinct from one another, each occupying its own individual corner of the plateau, with its own individual cemeteries.

The known cemeteries all lie beside what in later times were roads leading from Veii into the surrounding countryside: the Grotta Gramiccia cemetery beside the ridgeway track that leaves the North-west Gate; the Picazzano (Quattro Fontanili) and Vaccherecia cemeteries beside the road leading to Capena; and the Valle la Fata cemetery beside what may well have been the earliest of the roads linking Veii with Rome. That belonging to the village on the Piazza d'Armi still eludes discovery.[1] Without excavation the associated settlements cannot all be so precisely defined. That on the Piazza d'Armi was identified many years ago by Stefani; and the recent excavations by the North-west Gate have revealed that which buried its dead in the Grotta Gramiccia cemetery. Within the last few years continual ploughing of the slopes between the axial street and the southern edge of the plateau has revealed a wide scatter of Villanovan sherds in the area to the east of Casale Domenici, and no doubt it is within this area that the nucleus of the settlement responsible for the Valle la Fata cemetery is to be sought. The corresponding slopes near the North-west Gate have, on the other hand, been very little ploughed, and there is as yet no trace of the occupation-site associated with the Picazzano and Vaccherecia cemeteries. Scattered Villanovan sherds have also come to light in other parts of the plateau; but although these are evidence for an early expansion outwards from the original nuclei, an expansion to which the widespread distribution of archaic Etruscan sherds bears ample witness, they do not invalidate the contention that the original occupation of Veii took the form of independent village groups, rather than a uniform scatter over the whole plateau.

[1] But see below, *s.v.* Piazza d'Armi (p. 25).

The parallel with what is known to have happened in Rome is close and suggestive. Nor is this the only point of resemblance between the earliest phases of the two cities. In excavating the cemeteries it is inevitably the characteristically shaped Villanovan ossuaries, with their no less characteristically Villanovan incised or impressed geometrical decoration, which has attracted attention. But the partial excavation of one of the associated villages now shows how small was the proportion of typically Villanovan pottery in everyday domestic use. Among the pottery from the huts by the North-west Gate, there is a great deal that is no less distinctively 'Latian' both in shape and in fabric.[1] Whether the proportions yielded by this relatively small sample will be found to be repeated elsewhere on the plateau, remains to be seen; but it is already quite clear that Villanovan and Latian elements existed side by side in early Veii. To determine the significance of this coexistence would require further excavation and a thorough re-examination of the evidence for probable penetration of other parts of South Etruria by Early Iron Age Urnfield peoples from south of the Tiber. But the fact itself is clear enough; and taken in conjunction with the geographical position of Veii, close to the south-western limits of the Ager Veientanus and to the very ancient trackway that led down to Rome and the Tiber crossing, along the line of what later became the Via Triumphalis, it seems very likely indeed that the similarities between the two sites represent a historical fact, and that there were indeed close ties between the earliest village-settlements of Rome and Veii. The deadly rivalry that became inevitable in the changed politico-geographical circumstances of the fifth century B.C. has little meaning at this early stage.

When was Veii founded? The best direct evidence is that from the village beside the North-west Gate, where the material from the earliest phase of what is evidently a continuous occupational sequence appears to indicate a date substantially later than that of the earliest levels found on the Palatine. In such a case the argument from silence is clearly precarious; but it is at least consistent with what has been published from the cemeteries and with what is currently accessible in the Villa Giulia Museum. Veii may have been quite a late-comer in the field, perhaps even later than Rome; and for a considerable time after its initial settlement it seems, like Rome, to have lagged a long way behind the cities of the Etruscan coastland in the quality and wealth of its material remains.

(a) *Traces of Villanovan settlement on the plateau of Veii*

Beside the North-west Gate.—*PBSR*, xxvii, 1959, pp. 38–79, describing the excavation in 1958 of a small village site on the rounded knoll immediately to the north of the gate; the pottery from this excavation will be published in vol. xxxi or xxxii. A couple of abraded Villanovan sherds were found in the excavations of the previous year, and at least one more in the plough, just south of the gate; and a more substantial scatter, including seven decorated sherds, was ploughed out near the crest of the northern slopes of the plateau about 150 m. east of the 1958 excavations. The presence of a fragment of a terracotta hearth-stand among the latter appears to indicate habitation rather than (as at first sight seemed possible) the debris of a destroyed cemetery.

Portonaccio.—E. Stefani, *Not. Scav.*, 1953, pp. 102–103, recording the discovery and partial excavation of several Early Iron Age hut sites on the slopes immediately above the present level platform of the Portonaccio sanctuary. In one case there were traces of several superimposed huts (*op. cit.*, fig. 69), one of them a large, oval structure, measuring *c.* 9·30 × 5·71 m. The pottery is not illustrated, but is described as in part bearing 'the usual roughly incised ornament.'

[1] This material will be discussed in Part II of the report on the excavations, now in preparation.

On the main plateau, in the Quarto Comunitá.—A number of groups of early sherds have come to light in recent years after ploughing, at those points where successive cultivation has begun to strip the earliest occupation-levels. Some of these are accompanied by daub or loom-weights, and many are distinguishable as the debris of individual huts. Among them are several that have included decorated Villanovan sherds, and others may well be contemporary, though not specifically identifiable as such. The main concentration of early settlement in this area seems to lie along the slopes on either sides of the axial road near the Casale Domenici; but a few scattered sherds of decorated Villanovan ware have come to light, west of the road, some distance to the south towards the Piazza d'Armi. On the other hand nothing specifically Villanovan has yet been recorded from the prominent knoll that lies just to the east of the road, which was certainly heavily occupied from archaic times onwards.

Monte Campanile (847547).—A small group of early sherds found in 1958 near the crest of the spur, about 100 m. north of the primitive road-cutting; apparently an isolated hut, or small group of huts. Of four sherds of hand-made impasto decorated with incised or impressed ornament, two are certainly Villanovan. This is the only habitation site of the period so far identified outside the area of the main plateau, and its location confirms the early date of the road linking Veii with the line of the Via Cassia near Kilo. 15·5 (pp. 13–14).

Piazza d'Armi.—Mon. Ant., xl, 1944, cc. 178–290, describing the excavations undertaken by Stefani on the Piazza d'Armi, which revealed, in several cases stratified beneath later buildings, the remains of a number of hut-sites. Several of these are illustrated (*ibid.*, figs. 4, 8, 16, 17, 28, 34, 78, 79), all consisting of irregular depressions curiously devoid of recognisable post-holes; and, in or near them, a large number of decorated Villanovan sherds (figs. 11, 12, 80, 81, 83–86). The village was a large one, the main concentration seemingly having lain to the north of the axis of the citadel, around and south-east of the site of the later temple.

Other stray finds of decorated Villanovan sherds have been made at 847558, just above the hollow tentatively identified on p. 68 as the site of the Roman theatre; and at 849565, on the crest of the slope above Ponte Sodo.

(b) *Villanovan cemeteries*

Of the extensive excavations within the cemeteries of Veii undertaken between 1913 and 1918 by G. A. Colini and thereafter by G. Q. Giglioli, the only account to have appeared in print is a brief summary by the former, published posthumously in *Not. Scav.*, 1919, pp. 3–12. Giglioli permitted the publication of certain individual tombs that were later excavated under his direction; but the projected general account that he was to have prepared himself (*Not. Scav.*, 1929, p. 351, n. 1; *et. al.*) was never completed. The finds went to the Villa Giulia Museum, where, as a result of successive rearrangements, they have been virtually inaccessible for the last decade. As this volume is going to press, it is learnt that Dottoressa Anna Paola Vianello has been entrusted with the task of re-examining the whole surviving body of material from the Grotta Gramiccia excavations, with a view to preparing it for eventual publication.

The study of the contents of the cemeteries is, in any case, no part of the plan of the present work. The notes that follow, and those on pp. 42–47 (covering the cemeteries of the full Etruscan period) will, however, serve as a useful bibliographical guide to the little that has been published. They also constitute the basis for such topographical study of the cemeteries and their development as can now be undertaken. See also Appendix III, briefly describing the discoveries made in 1960–61, especially pp. 89–114.

Grotta Gramiccia.—G. A. Colini, *Not. Scav.*, 1919, p. 6, referring briefly to the exploration of cemetery described as lying in the Riserva della Grotta Gramiccia, *i.e.* the narrow plateau of rolling ground outside the North-west Gate, to the west of the modern Formello road. The earliest shaft graves (*tombe a pozzo*) are stated to have been closely packed, and at times superimposed, on the crest and along the brows of the high ground.

To judge from the superficial remains the cemetery was concentrated in two distinct areas about 200 m. apart. One of these consisted of the crest and southern slopes of a low knoll to the right of the Nepi road, about 200 m. to the north of the North-west Gate. Until a few years ago Villanovan sherds and small fragments of bronze were plentiful after ploughing, but the site has since then been totally obliterated by the construction of a farmhouse belonging to the Ente Maremma (see *PBSR*, xxvii, 1959, pl. IX). The other part of the cemetery occupied the top of the small but prominent rounded knoll to the west of the ancient road, in the angle between it and the modern road to Formello (*ibid.*, pls. IX, X). Though extensively damaged by recent ploughing, the deeper tombs are still intact. There were lesser concentrations of tombs on several of the adjoining knolls; see Appendix III, pp. 90–93.

Valle la Fata.—G. A. Colini, *Not. Scav.*, 1919, pp. 5, 6; E. Stefani, *ibid.*, 1929, pp. 330–351; 1934, pp. 422–426. On the south side of Veii, below Isola Farnese, in the valley bottom just below the junction of the Fosso della Mola and the Fosso Due Fossi; a cemetery of limited extent on what was then the left bank of the stream, which at that time ran further out from the cliffs of Veii than it does today, at the foot of a gentle rocky slope. The present flat alluvial plain, through which the stream has eroded a new channel, is the result of subsequent accumulation, which has in places buried the graves as much as 5–6 m. below the present surface.

Of Colini's excavations there is no detailed record. Stefani's work is, on the other hand, admirably documented, and gives by far the best available picture of one of the early cemeteries of Veii, covering the Villanovan and immediately succeeding periods, with very little overlay of later material; for a plan of the cemetery, see the report of 1929, p. 330, fig. 4. A feature which it shares with the Grotta Gramiccia cemeteries is the use of olla-shaped ossuaries side by side with the typical Villanovan biconical form.

Piazza d'Armi.—The possibility that, like the Valle la Fata cemetery, that associated with the Piazza d'Armi settlement lies in the valley below, covered by 3–4 m. of post-classical alluvial silt, finds confirmation in a report by Dr. Ambrosetti that a few winters ago, after an unusually high spate, a number of Villanovan sherds, including one nearly intact cinerary urn, were found in the bed of the Fosso Due Fossi just above its confluence with the Valchetta.

Vaccherecia.—Of the tombs described by Jonas Palm in *Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae*, 4°, xvi, 1952, pp. 50–86 (see further, p. 43), one, Vaccherecia XIX, contains a Villanovan ossuary. It may, as Palm suggests, incorporate material from a secondary burial; alternatively, since there are numerous verifiable discrepancies between the account given by Lanciani (*Not. Scav.*, 1889, pp. 154–158; he does not specifically refer to this tomb) and the entries in the register of the Museo Preistorico, one cannot altogether discount the possibility of simple error. But that there were Villanovan burials on the Vaccherecia plateau is proved beyond question by the discovery in the autumn of 1960 of the ploughed-out remains of at least three more Villanovan graves on the crest of a small knoll near the western edge of the plateau; see Appendix III, pp. 108–9.

For the location of Lanciani's excavations, see p. 44; for the graves found in 1960, fig. 36, p. 102.

Picazzano (*Quattro Fontanili*).—R. U. Inglieri, *Not. Scav.*, 1930, pp. 67–68; C. A. Ambrosetti, *ibid.*, 1954, pp. 1–5. Inglieri excavated, but does not describe or illustrate, four from what are stated to have been thousands of shafts of the Early Iron Age, located 'north of the Fosso di Formello, on a series of small hills, the first fringe of the cemeteries of Veii.' Ambrosetti describes a small excavation undertaken in what was evidently the same area, following the discovery and destruction during cultivation of some 60–80 Villanovan tombs and of numerous *tombe a fossa* of the immediately succeeding period, 'on an elevation opposite the hill containing the Campana tomb.'

For the site of this cemetery, see p. 46; it is incorrectly located in the map published in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 6A, 1959, p. 14. It was tractor-ploughed during the summer of 1960, throwing up the remains of several hundred tombs of the Villanovan and immediately succeeding periods, the former concentrated on the summit of the knoll that marks the south-eastern extremity of the Quattro Fontanili ridge, the latter spreading outwards down the upper slopes. A systematic excavation of the site is now in progress.

Ponte Formello.—Stefani, *Not. Scav.*, 1910, pp. 241–242, recording the discovery of two recently ransacked *pozzetti* on the left bank of Fosso della Valchetta, 45 m. south of the Ponte Formello; beside them, fragments of pottery, including a typical Villanovan ossuary. Presumably isolated burials rather than part of a large cemetery, of which there is no trace.

IV. THE ETRUSCAN CITY (fig. 6)

(a) *The inhabited area: streets, temples, houses*

About the internal topography of the Etruscan city we know sadly little. That it was very largely determined by the natural configuration of the ground there is little room for doubt. It is true that on the Piazza d'Armi Stefani found what may have been an open square with a straight street leading out of one corner of it and a second street running for a short distance at right angles to it. But the regularity of plan extends only a very short distance back from the main façade, and it bears all the marks of being a later rationalisation of an existing irregular plan; nor is there any suggestion of a regular layout elsewhere in the city. The main lines of

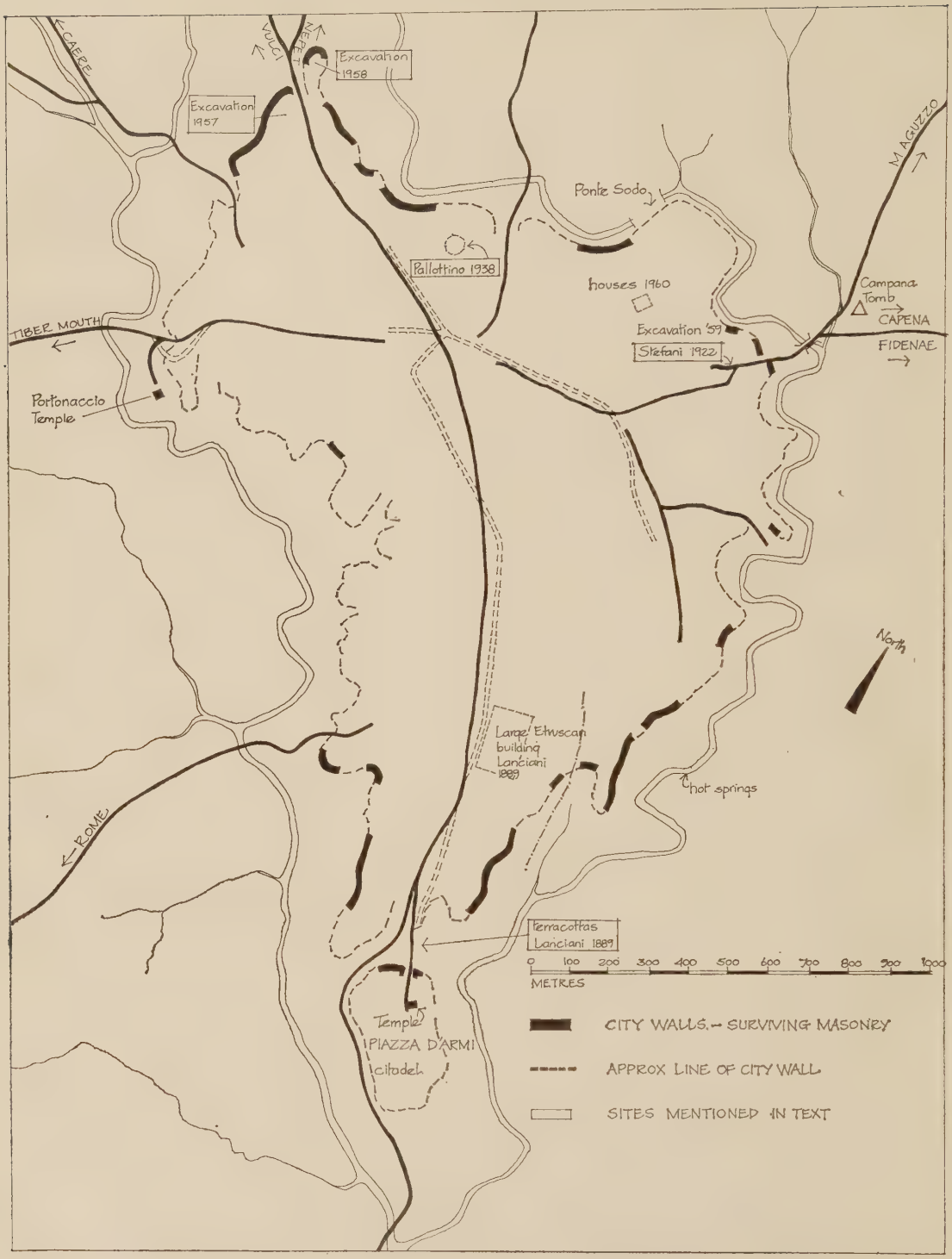


FIG. 6. ETRUSCAN VEII: ROADS, WALLS AND SITES WITHIN THE CITY. For the cemeteries, see fig. 12, p. 40

the street-plan are clear enough, and these indicate a radial layout, with the city-centre occupying roughly the same site as the centre of the Roman town. This was, and still is, the natural focus of the plateau. Here the crest divides into two distinct ridges, the southern one running the full length of the promontory, right down to the Piazza d'Armi, the northern one bearing off to the left and then swinging right again towards the modern Casale Cabrioli, ending on the cliffs overlooking the Fosso della Valchetta, opposite the Vaccherecia tumulus. The layout of the south-eastern part of the town was very largely determined by the course of the roads which followed these two ridges and of a third road which probably ran down the bottom of the valley between them. Two other roads, those from the Formello and the Millstream Gates, converge directly on the centre, and that from the Capena Gate joined the northern ridge-road about 500 m. to the east. The Caere road probably joined the axial road some distance to the west of the centre.

From the scanty records of excavation within the area of the city and from the superficial observation of the material exposed by ploughing it is difficult to say much more than that there was probably habitation of a sort over most of the promontory, but that the areas of greatest intensity of occupation seem to be fairly closely associated with the network of streets described in the preceding paragraph. This is particularly true of an area stretching for some distance to either side of the main axial street, and, more generally, over most of the south-eastern half of the town, wherever the conditions of cultivation are such as to suggest the likelihood of a reasonably representative surface scatter. Apart from the actual city-centre and the high ground between the North-west and Caere Gates, the western end of the town seems, by contrast, to have been less intensely occupied. Such at any rate is the impression conveyed by surface observation over a period of several successive seasons, an impression that seems worth recording even if the evidence on which it is based is manifestly incomplete.

Of substantial public buildings two only have come to light: the small archaic temple on the Piazza d'Armi, and the Portonaccio temple, best known for its magnificent series of architectural and figured terracottas, now in the Villa Giulia Museum. What was perhaps part of the buildings of a third temple, or sacred area, was excavated just before the Second World War in the *contrada* Campetti on the northern slopes of the town just west of the Formello gate; and there are several other records of votive terracottas, notably an enormous deposit beside the entrance to the Piazza d'Armi.

Yet another temple may have stood on the prominent knoll that dominates the south-eastern end of the ridge, overlooking the Piazza d'Armi. Here Lanciani excavated a Roman villa, the terracing of which he found to rest upon a footing of squared tufa blocks which, in the context, must almost certainly have been of earlier date. The site is a commanding one, ideally suited for the location of one of the city's principal sanctuaries; and, as the ploughed-out remains show, it was certainly occupied at an early date.

From the amount of domestic pottery that is now being ploughed out without any associated masonry, it is very likely that much of the domestic architecture of Veii continued to be of timber, with walls of mud-brick or wattle and daub, right down to the destruction of the city. But it is evident from the excavated remains

of houses on the Piazza d'Armi, in the Macchia Grande area, and near the North-west Gate, that at any rate by the fifth century there were already some more substantial houses. Many of these were probably built of traditional materials for the greater part of their visible height, but used the local stone to provide water-proof footings. Others were built of squared stone, or had at any rate tall stone socles, bringing the walls up to a level uniform with that of the rock into which they were terraced. It is very much to be hoped that some of these houses will be cleared and studied before they are all destroyed by cultivation.

For the main road-cuttings within the town, see the description of the individual roads (pp. 3–20). That leading down to the North-east Gate cuts through a steep natural bluff; the original road probably followed the natural line of the valley to the west of this bluff. The main axial street, the Portonaccio road, the road to the North-east Gate and the Formello road, all remained in use in Roman times. Of the other Etruscan streets referred to above, that along the ridge past Casale Cabrioli may be inferred from the intensity of settlement along the crest to the south-east of the Casale; that along the valley-bottom between the two ridges could only be confirmed by excavation, since the whole valley is deeply silted up with soil ploughed off the adjoining slopes.

The temple on the Piazza d'Armi.—For the Piazza d'Armi temple, see Stefani, *Mont. Ant. Linc.*, xl, 1944, cc. 228–290. The temple itself was a very simple, rectangular structure, measuring 15·35 × 8·07 m. externally and facing south-east; it may have had either one or two doors in the façade, and there are the footings for what appears to have been a central (timber?) upright supporting the *columen*. The terracottas include pedimental terminal tiles, antefixes, semicircular ridge-tiles and two types of friezes, all of the first half of the sixth century (Arvid Andren, *Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae*, vi, 1940, pp. 8–9). Adjoining the façade of the temple was a small rectangular chamber with an associated cistern, and there was a second cistern just in front of the south angle of the façade. Underlying the whole group were the remains of several Early Iron Age huts with a lot of characteristically decorated Villanovan pottery.

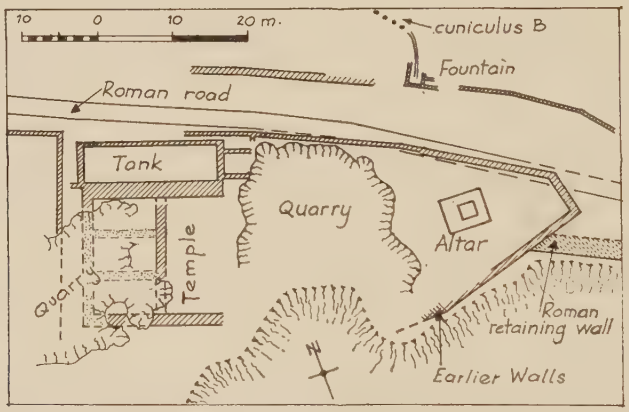


Fig. 7. The Portonaccio Sanctuary (after Stefani)

The Portonaccio temple.—The best available general account of the Portonaccio temple is that of its principal excavator, Stefani, in *Not. Scav.* 1953, p. 29–112. The sanctuary was sited on a natural platform, defended on the south by the sheer cliffs of the Piordo gorge, but lying outside the actual circuit of the walls, which ran along the crest (now much eroded) of the steep slopes overlooking the site from the north. It occupied the eastern half of the platform, and the principal remains (fig. 7) are those of the encircling precinct wall, of the temple itself, of the altar, of a road running along the north side of the precinct, and of an elaborate system of water conduits and tanks; water evidently played an important part in the rituals associated with the cult, and it may even have been a factor in determining the original choice of site, below the main plateau, on a level to which a steady flow of water could readily be diverted from the upper reaches of the Piordo stream, above the falls. The precinct was trapezoidal in plan, with its narrow end towards the east, and the temple stood against

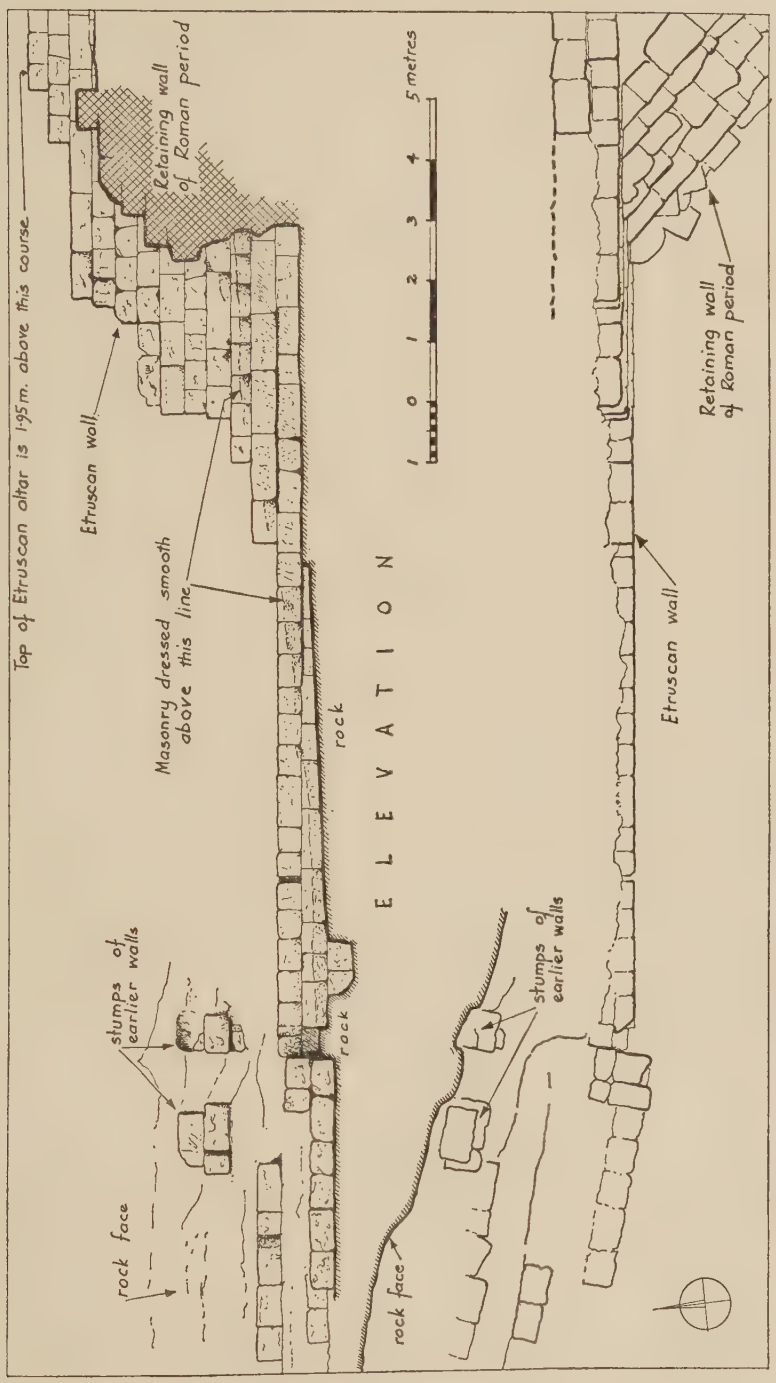


FIG. 8. THE PORTONACCIO SANCTUARY: RETAINING WALL BELOW THE ALTAR. *Cf.* pl. XV, *a*.

the west wall, facing east. When found, it had been very badly damaged by the collapse of a series of tufa quarries tunneled into the rock beneath (*cf.* the so-called 'Nymphaeum' on the crest of the ridge above), and a great deal of the masonry now visible has been ingeniously restored on the basis of the disposition of the collapsed debris. The north wall and north-west angle, the front part of the south wall and the front of the cella are original; that it had a triple cella, as now restored, is possible, but far from certain. A plan with a single cella enclosed within a larger rectangular building (as now appears to be demonstrated in the case of the temple at Fiesole) would fit the surviving remains equally well.

The altar platform, with its elaborate system of associated water-runnels and other ritual features, was partially excavated by Stefani and further explored by Pallottino (*Le Arti*, ii, 1939–1940, pp. 17–20). It occupies, and appears to be contemporary with, the east end of the sanctuary, which has been deliberately terraced up at this point to form a more or less level platform, well above the gently sloping surface of the underlying rock. Underneath it can be seen the traces of earlier constructions, which are usually assumed to have been in some way associated with an earlier altar on the same site—a relationship which is by no means impossible, but which has yet to be demonstrated. The cuttings visible in the underlying rock could equally well be the seatings for random structures similar to those that can be seen exposed by the collapse of the later terrace wall, a few metres to the south, on the brow of the gorge (fig. 8). A photograph taken during Stefani's excavations (*op. cit.*, fig. 19) is important in this respect, since it shows that, prior to the raising of this end of the temenos to the level of the present altar, there were in fact substantial buildings standing at least as high as (and very probably higher than) this level. Without detailed plans and sections, it is hard to be sure; but a natural interpretation of the available evidence would seem to be that the temenos was enlarged specifically in order to provide space for the accommodation of a new and larger altar, and that the underlying structures may well have lain outside the original sanctuary.

If so, the date both of the altar and of the temenos in its present form is furnished by the very large deposit of votive and other objects found by Pallottino (*loc. cit.*) within the make-up of the platform. These included a few Hellenistic terracottas and sherds of late pottery; and it is perhaps on the basis of these and of her own discovery of a fragment of the Apollo statue beneath the level of the associated roadway that Dr. Santangelo bases her statement that the altar in its latest form is 'unquestionably later than the Roman Conquest' (*Boll. d'Arte*, xxxvii, 1952, p. 171, n. 29). On the other hand the overwhelming majority of the finds constitute a group which is unlikely to be very much later than about 500 B.C. It included two important pieces of large terracotta statuary and the well-known dedication of a sixth-century bucchero cup by *Velthur Tulumne* (*Not. Scav.*, 1930, pp. 335–345; for the gens Tolumnia (Tolonia) at Veii, *cf.* Livy IV, 17–21; also Maria Santangelo, *Rend. Acc. Linc.*, n.s. iii, 1948, pp. 454–464). Pending a fuller account of Dr. Santangelo's work, it seems wiser to regard the few later pieces as intrusive (the Sanctuary certainly survived the sack of the city in 396), and to ascribe the altar and the east end of the temenos to the time to which they would seem on historical grounds most naturally to belong, namely the century between the latest objects in the main deposit and the destruction of the Etruscan city by Rome.

(In this connection, it may be noted that Stefani's meticulous account of the excavation of the central altar-base (*Not. Scav.*, 1953, pp. 41–42; *cf.* 81–87) is inconclusive in one vital respect. He implies that the whole of the roughly square opening in the centre of the platform (the 'fossa dei sacrifici') was open and accessible; whereas, whatever the significance of the central, burnt deposit, which does seem to imply access, from the very ragged nature of the otherwise excellent masonry around the opening, it seems to be no less clear that the main body of the fill is a structural make-up, contemporary with the surviving masonry. If so, the contents of the fill, mainly jewelry and small objects of precious metal, mostly date from before the building of the present altar, rather than the period of its use.)

The finds from the sanctuary present a number of unsolved problems and, pending the completion by Dr. Santangelo of the work of restoration and study of which she has so far presented only a preliminary account, they are likely to remain unsolved. From the fact that there are more major statues and bases than could have been accommodated on the roof of a single temple, it does seem legitimate to conclude that there was at least one other substantial building within the sanctuary, perhaps in the central area now destroyed by quarrying. To the discrepancy between the early date of a great deal of the votive material and the absence of any trace of early architectural terracottas it is, on the other hand, hard to suggest any convincing answer; unless indeed it be that before the closing years of the sixth century this was a sacred temenos, rather than a temple, and that the temple, as such, was a relatively late addition. To such an earlier phase might be attributed the remains of an earlier wall and a single, approximately rectangular chamber, built of squared tufa blocks and found stratified beneath and behind the north-west corner of the temple (*Not. Scav.*, 1953, pp. 103–104, fig. 70).

The identity of the principal divinity, or divinities, worshipped in the temple is also uncertain, beyond the fact that in Republican times there was certainly a cult of Minerva (M. Santangelo, *Rend. Acc. Linc.*, n.s. iii, 1948, pp. 454–464). Water evidently played an important part in the ritual; but that it was a health sanctuary associated with a mineral spring (Santangelo, *Boll. d'Arte*, 1952, p. 170, n. 3) may be doubted. At Veii such springs all seem to lie in the valley-bottom, below the great tufa shelf on which the temple stands.

For the successive roads across the site, see p. 11; and for the associated water-supply, pp. 51–2. The initial discovery of the main group of figured terracottas is described by Giglioli in *Not. Scav.*, 1919, pp. 13–37; and the subsequent finds by Pallottino (*loc. cit.*: large male torso, *cf. Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, n.s. viii–x, 1946–1948, pp. 69–78; and *kourophoros*, *cf. Archeologia Classica*, ii, 1950, pp. 122–179); and by Maria Santangelo (*Boll. d'Arte*, xxxvii, 1952, pp. 147–172: a general review of her own discoveries between 1944 and 1949, supplementing and in a number of details emending the previous finds of figured and architectural terracottas).

For the masonry of the north wall of the temple, see pl. XV, *a*; for that of the retaining wall of the altar platform, see pl. XV, *b*.

The Campetti votive deposit.—See Pallottino, *Le Arti*, i, 1938–1939, pp. 402–403, describing briefly the discovery and partial clearance of a site in the *contrada* Campetti, on the northern slopes of the town, about 200 m. west of the cutting for the Formello road. This revealed the perimeter wall of a large building, or more probably an enclosure (approx. 20 × 17 m.), built of tufa blocks, rough in the footings and dressed smooth in elevation; it is probably of sixth-century date, since the level from which it was built contained only tiles and impasto. The ancient surface-level both within and without the area so enclosed was covered by a burnt layer, and on top of this was found a large deposit of votive terracottas, predominantly though not exclusively of the sixth and fifth centuries, and very mixed in character (*kourotrophoi*, seated couples, warriors, youths carrying lyres, women's heads; but few, if any, organs of the body); also a few architectural terracottas, a fine late sixth-century siren (*op. cit.*, pl. 126, 1) and an archaic Maenad antefix (*ibid.*, pl. 126, 2). The associated pottery was also mainly of the sixth and fifth centuries, with a small proportion of later Red Figured and painted wares. Overlying part of the site were the remains of a Roman building. It is not clear from the report whether the deposit accumulated *in situ* or was dumped here on some single occasion. In either case its contents are evidence that here or hereabouts there was a substantial shrine and that it remained in use, though seemingly on a reduced scale, after the sack of the city.

Other votive deposits.—The principal find of votive terracottas is that, familiar to generations of visitors to Veii, on the upper slopes overlooking the Valchetta beside the entrance to the Piazza d'Armi. A part of it was examined by Lanciani (*Not. Scav.*, 1889, pp. 30–31, 63–65); of nearly 2,000 complete pieces recovered, almost a quarter represented veiled female heads and a high percentage of the rest portrayed organs of the human body.

Of other recorded finds of terracottas, those said to have been found on a number of occasions in the cutting of the Formello road (*Not. Scav.*, 1930 pp. 72–73) may have been strays from the Campetti deposit. A pedimental acroterion of late fifth-century date is published by Stefani in *Not. Scav.*, 1950, p. 60; unfortunately the exact find-spot is not recorded. An arm, entwined by a snake and holding a dish, was ploughed out recently near the building described in the next paragraph.

Large early building (a temple?) overlooking the Piazza d'Armi.—Lanciani, *Not. Scav.*, 1889, p. 63: 'Muro di costruzione col fondamento di massi squadrati di tufo locale, e parte superiore reticolata. L'area recinta da questo muro é parte di terra di riporto, vergine, con frantumi di vasellame di bucchero, e di anfore ad ornati rossi in campo giallognolo; in parte fabbricata a massi squadrati di tufo.' His sketch-plan (fig. 19) illustrates what is presumably the western angle of this enclosure. Cultivation has destroyed much of the villa, but the outlines of the platform are still clearly visible in recent air-photographs (pl. IX). The pottery ploughed out, particularly along the south-eastern slopes, confirms the presence of Etruscan structures beneath the Roman levels.

Other public buildings.—Incorporated into the section of the defences examined in 1957 were large tufa mouldings of two distinct sizes and qualities of stone. By the late fifth century there must already have been a number of monumental buildings at Veii, some of which were demolished to make way (or possibly to provide materials) for the ramparts.

Domestic buildings.—Lanciani refers briefly to the discovery in *contrada* 'Macchia Grande' of a house built of irregular blocks of local tufa with an adjoining well and cistern, the whole group being stratified under Roman debris (*Not. Scav.*, 1889, p. 10); and in the *contrada* 'Quarticcioli' between the Macchia Grande and Le Vignacce traces of an Etruscan building in association with two fragments of Red Figured pottery, underneath a Roman house of the second century A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 158).

On the Piazza d'Armi Stefani (*Mon. Ant. Linc.* xl, 1944, cc. 225–228) cleared the rectilinear façades and some of the rooms of at least three buildings adjoining the open space in front of the large, sunken, oval enclosure which marks the approximate centre of the ancient *arx* (*ibid.*, cc. 181–186). The surviving remains are those of foundations built of roughly squared tufa blocks, very similar in character to those of the Etruscan building recently excavated near the North-west Gate and presumably, like them, intended to be no more than the socles for walls of mud brick or timber, or some combination of the two.

More substantial structures are recorded from the northern slopes of the town beside the road leading down to the Capena Gate, about 100 m. short of the gate itself, on the west side. Here Stefani (*Not. Scav.*, 1922, pp. 379–390) cleared a short stretch of a minor road which joins the main road at an oblique angle, and beside the junction, overlooking it, he excavated the remains of a house, or houses, partly terraced into the rock and partly built of squared masonry, of which the latter was in places still standing to a height of at least five courses above floor-level. The most recognisable unit was a rectangular house, consisting of a narrow, transverse vestibule opening directly off the street and, beyond it, a square inner chamber, within which were found the remains of a hearth in one corner and copious other traces of domestic use. The doorway between the two rooms tapered upwards and had a rectangular cut-away on the inner face, as if to house a wooden door; according to Stefani there were also the fallen voussoir blocks of an arch. Alongside the houses and along the lines of the two streets there was an elaborate system of drainage channels (for which, see p. 52); and in the third to second centuries B.C. the smaller road was sealed off with a dump of refuse from what appears to have been a small nearby sanctuary (p. 56). The material associated with the houses included some bucchero and, having regard to its purely domestic character, it may well be quite late. To the same general category may have belonged the buildings of squared masonry of which extensive remains were until recently preserved, terraced into the northern slopes of the plateau near the Ponte Sodo. These were all grubbed out when the Macchia Grande was cleared, and the stone was used to build the Casale Cabrioli.

For the recent excavation of two successive Etruscan houses near the North-west Gate, see *PBSR*, xxvii, 1959, pp. 58–65. The first of these was a rectangular structure, with a portico along one of the long sides and two rooms opening off it; the framework was of timber and the walls probably wattle and daub. It dates from the sixth century and was rebuilt with a masonry socle at some date before its destruction to make way for the fifth-century ramparts.

(b) *The walls*

Except for the narrow neck of high ground across the line of the North-west Gate, the plateau of Veii was delimited on all sides by the valleys of the Fosso della Valchetta and its tributary the Fosso Piordo (Fosso dei Due Fossi), and it seems that for the greater part of the city's history these natural defences were held to be sufficient in themselves, without any artificial additions. Such at any rate seems to be the conclusion to be drawn from a systematic survey of the visible remains, supplemented by trial excavations at three points near the North-west and Capena Gates. With the exception of the Piazza d'Armi, the ancient *arx*, which may well have been fortified separately at an earlier date, the whole of the existing circuit is uniform in character; and where examined, it was found to have been built quite a short time before the city's destruction in 396, certainly not before the middle of the fifth century.

The principal characteristics of the fifth-century defences have already been described in connection with the excavations beside the North-west Gate (*PBSR*, xxvii, 1959, pp. 66–67, 79). Where they crossed the relatively open ground on either side of the North-west Gate, they consisted of a massive earthern rampart, over 20 m. in width and some 5–6 m. high, with a wall of solid tufa masonry emerging from it to form a vertical breastwork about half-way up the forward face (fig. 9, *a*). Elsewhere the engineers were helped by the natural slope of the ground. Wherever possible they made good use of a familiar Etruscan technique of cutting back the

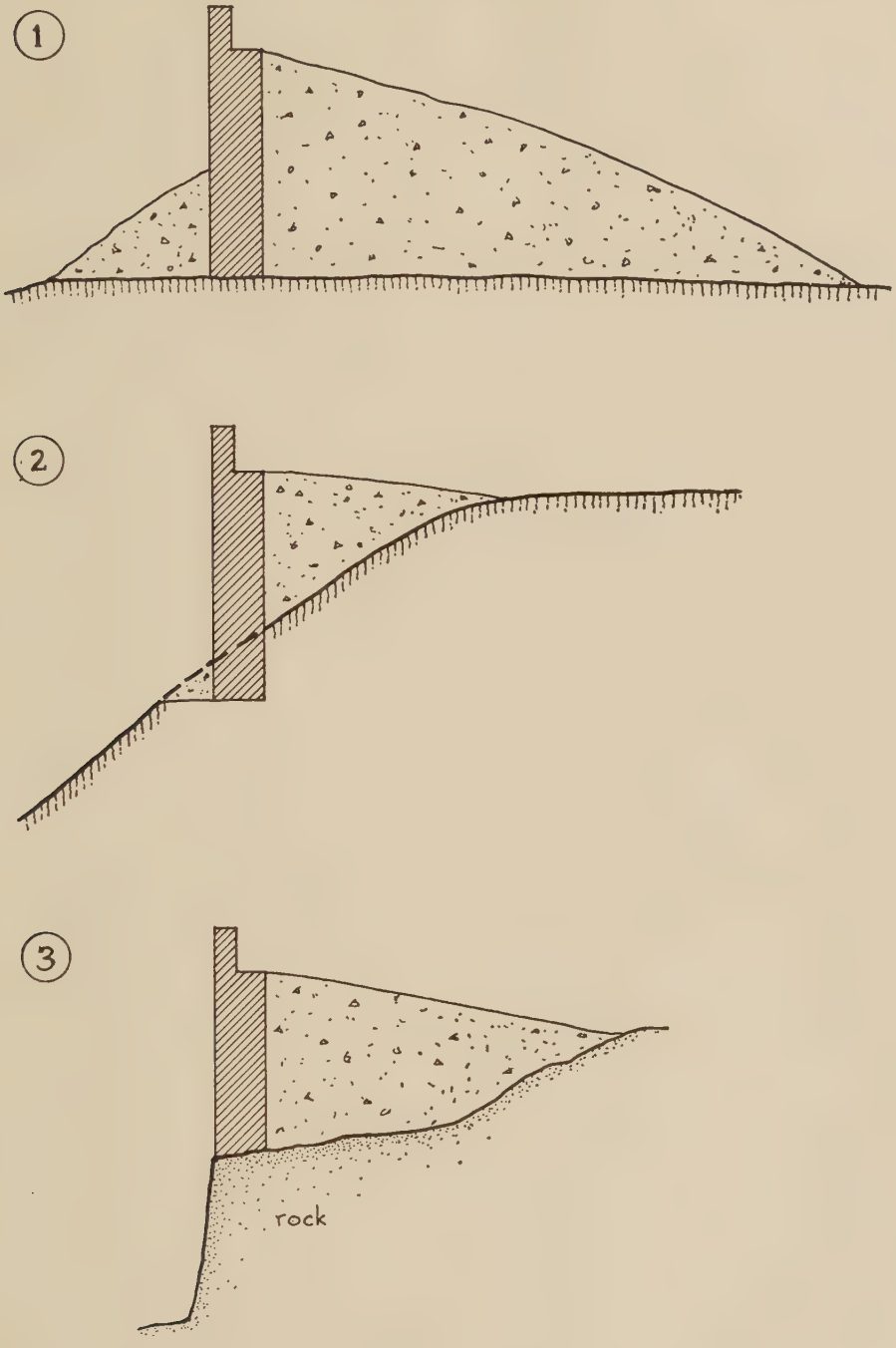


FIG. 9. THE CITY WALLS: DIAGRAMMATIC RECONSTRUCTIONS. The height and the details of the parapet are hypothetical

tufa to form a vertical face of natural rock, and it is quite possible that in some stretches (*e.g.* north of the Millstream Gate, behind the present mill; and possibly along the south side of the Piazza d'Armi) there was no need for any further defences. But over the greater part of the site the tufa beds were neither thick nor consistent enough to allow of the sort of rock-cut defences that must have made a city such as Falerii all but impregnable to direct assault. Instead, it was necessary to steepen the natural slopes and reinforce them with a line of artificial defences.

The system adopted was essentially the same as that of the north-western defences, but modified to serve the needs of a sloping terrain (fig. 9, *b* and *c*). The central feature was a wall, built well forward from the crest, and serving the double purpose of retaining the earthen mass of the rampart piled behind it and of furnishing a vertical breastwork to the whole complex. In front of it, wherever possible the underlying rock was cut away to a second vertical face; good examples of this can be seen immediately to the right and left of the Capena Gate (fig. 4), and again on either side of the well-preserved stretch of walling that bars the end of the valley between the two south-eastern ridges of the promontory. Alternatively, wherever there was no suitable rocky outcrop, the natural slope was steepened and earth piled up against the front of the wall to form a smooth glacis in front of and below the breastwork. This was the system found to have been adopted in the stretch of wall excavated in 1959 some 100 m. north of the Capena Gate (see below); and it must in fact have been applied along the greater part of the northern defences, and particularly west of the Formello Gate, where there are no large outcrops of harder rock and the natural slope is proportionately gentler than elsewhere. What has happened in this stretch is that the wall, sited well down the slope, has collapsed or been quarried away, and the earth behind it has spilled forward, coming to rest at the natural angle of tip and giving the quite illusory appearance of a naturally scarped slope. Another very clear instance of the same phenomenon can be seen if one looks across the valley from Monte Campanile towards the west slopes of the Macchia della Comunità, north of the Piazza d'Armi.

For the most part the surviving remains of the wall are those of the footings only, which were buried within the body of the mound and were never intended to be seen. These were quite roughly laid, without any pretensions as to smooth surfaces or neat jointing. That this conveys an altogether wrong impression of the former appearance of the exposed wall-face is, however, demonstrated by the section examined in 1959 near the Capena Gate (fig. 10; pl. XIV). Here the line of the wall is curving round the head of a small natural reentrant and it has been preserved to a height of no less than twelve courses of the face. Throughout this height there is a fairly consistent alternation of header and stretcher courses. But, whereas the bottom four courses are very carelessly laid, with little or no regard for appearance, they are carefully levelled off by a tapering fifth course, and above this the masonry is quite different in character. The horizontal coursing runs true, the vertical joints are carefully fitted (some of them are not quite vertical, showing that the blocks were trimmed as they were laid), and the whole face is dressed back to a uniform, smooth surface. This last operation undoubtedly took place when the wall was already in position, since close examination of the levelling course shows the dressing to extend downwards over part but not the whole of many of the individual blocks.

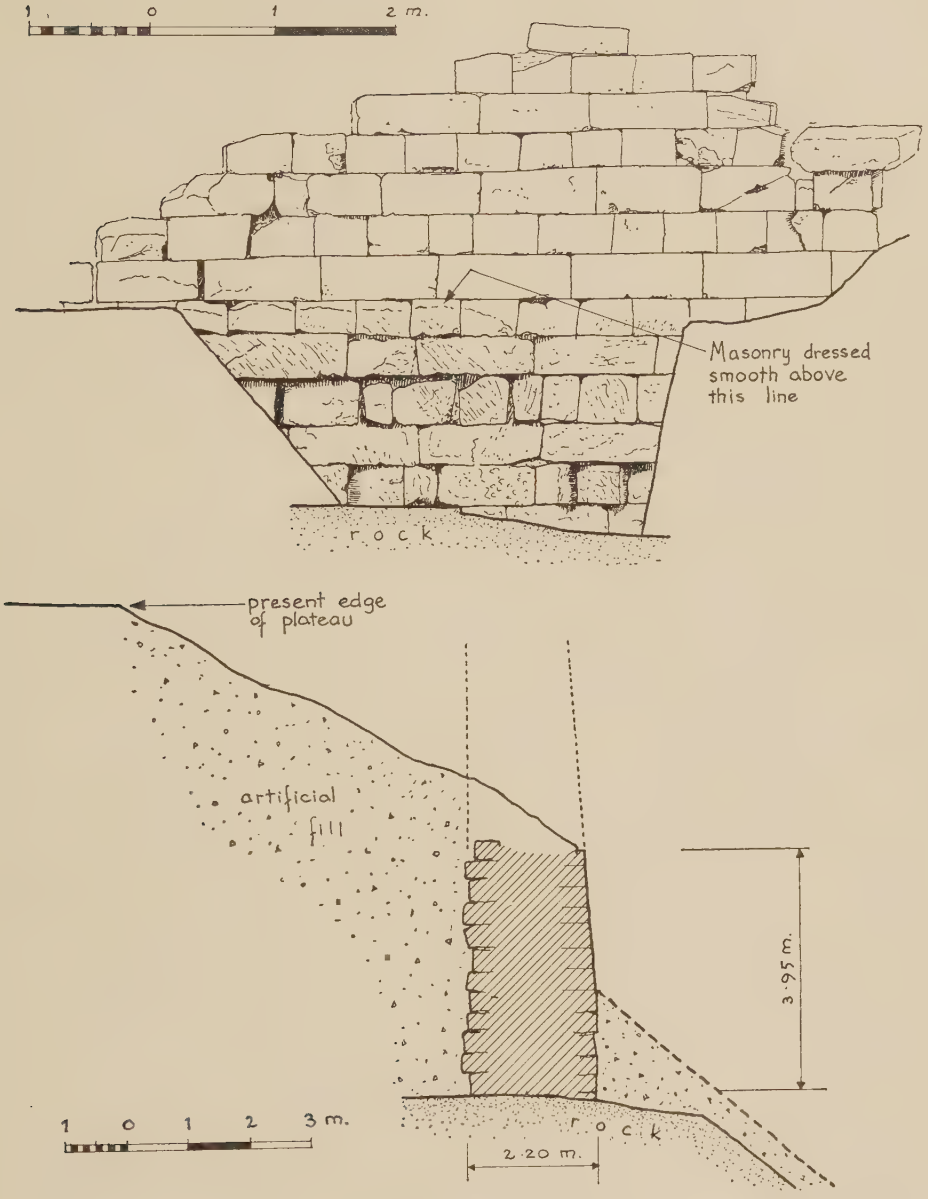


FIG. 10. STRETCH OF THE CITY WALLS CLEARED IN 1959, ABOUT 100 m. WEST OF THE NORTH-EAST GATE (*cf.* pl. XIV)

In other words, when the wall-face was dressed the earthen glacis was already piled up against the face to approximately the height at which it has stood ever since, *i.e.* to the line visible in pl. XIV, *a* as the junction between the dark, recently exposed surfaces and the lighter, weathered surfaces of the upper part.

The most impressive surviving stretch of walling is to be seen about half-way along the east side of the town at the point where the line of the central valley joins the main Valchetta gorge (fig. 11). Here the line of the wall swings across the head of a steep reentrant between two projecting spurs of higher ground, and against the northern shoulder no less than sixteen courses of masonry are preserved, to a total height of no less than 5·75 m. At this point, perhaps because of the special situation in a defile with flanking rock-cut cliffs, perhaps also because there was a postern nearby, there was no glacis in front of the wall, which is instead unusually massive (at least 2.70 m. thick at the top) and is further strengthened by being stepped back several centimetres every second course. In other respects, however, the masonry (pl. XIII) is identical with that visible near the Capena Gate and, from a close examination of those blocks that rest against the natural rock, it can once again be seen to have been trimmed back to its final shape when the whole structure was already in place.

That there may have been earlier defences is a possibility that cannot be excluded without a great deal more careful excavation. But there does not seem to be any good reason to doubt that, with the exception of the Piazza d'Armi, the defences now visible are part of a single system, put up on a single occasion, and that occasion is securely dated in terms of the pottery found sealed beneath the rampart near the North-west Gate. It cannot be earlier than the middle of the fifth century and may well be as late as the closing decades of the century. These are the walls that defied the armies of Camillus.

As such, these walls are a useful addition to the slender body of securely dated early fortifications in squared tufa masonry. Their most distinctive feature, the partial concealment of the wall-face behind a sloping earthen glacis, may at first sight be rather disconcerting. On reflection, however, it can be seen to be a simple and logical solution to a specific problem, that of siting a strong, vertical obstacle on the crest of a shelving, rather unstable slope. Except where there was an outcrop of harder tufa, the wall had to be set well back from the edge, if it was not to collapse outwards under the pressure of the main body of the rampart behind it; and the glacis in front would have served the double purpose of buttressing this thrust and of increasing the defensive value by carrying the slope of the hillside (perhaps artificially steepened) right up to the vertical wall-face above it.

That this was by no means a unique solution to what must have been quite a common problem is suggested by the recent discovery of an apparently very similar defensive wall of Etruscan date beneath the foundations along the north side of the medieval castle at San Giovenale.[1] Here too the dressed wall-face rests on footings so rough that they cannot possibly ever have been exposed; and once again the dressing of the exposed wall-face can be shown to have been undertaken when the footings were already buried, some of the blocks having the lower part rough and

[1] As revealed by the recent excavations undertaken by H.M. the King of Sweden and the Swedish Institute in Rome.

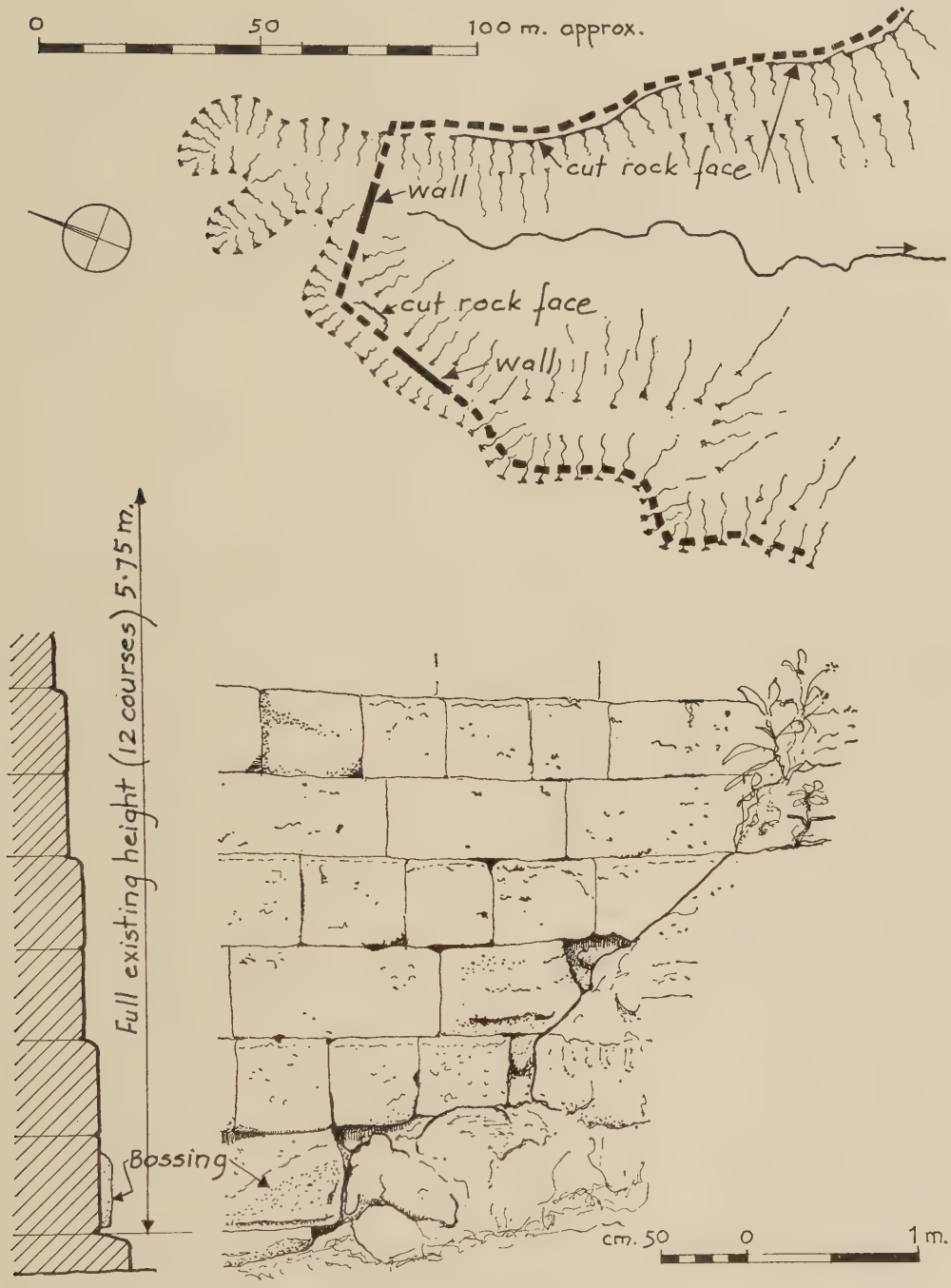


Fig. 11. Plan and Detail of the Well-preserved Stretch of City Wall Illustrated in pl. XIII

the upper part dressed smooth, precisely along the line of division between the two. Another possible parallel is afforded by the ramparts of Anzio, with their otherwise unexplained 'internal revetment wall.'[1]

Of the gates associated with this wall the only ones of which there are now substantial visible traces are the Millstream Gate, the Valle la Fata Gate, and the North-east (Capena) Gate. Of the first two all that remains is the cutting in the tufa through which the road passed. The Capena Gate (p. 16 and fig. 4) was paved and possibly deepened in Roman times; but there are substantial traces of earlier masonry visible in the sides of the cutting, and it may be that excavation would yield some more precise indication of the original lay-out, which appears to have been designed to incorporate some sort of courtyard, or open space, immediately inside the gate. The gate leading into the Piazza d'Armi, excavated by Stefani was set in the back wall of a rectangular forecourt, approx. 5·50 × 5 m., of which the front was possibly open. The ditch in front of it, up which the path now runs, is probably an original feature, and there are traces of what may have been the masonry piers of a wooden bridge. Later, but still presumably in Etruscan times, the gate was enlarged by the addition of a second carriage-way, with a smaller opening between the two.

For the line of the walls, see fig. 6. The continuous heavy line indicates those tracts for which there is still clear evidence on the ground in the shape of masonry, rock-cuttings or vestigial ramparts; the broken line those tracts for which the only evidence is the present lie of the terrain. The brief supplementary notes that follow are arranged counter-clockwise, starting at the North-west Gate.

Between the North-west and the Caere Gates the line of the ramparts is continuously visible as a prominent scarp, with occasional ploughed-out wall blocks. South of the Caere Gate there is a short, rather indeterminate stretch, and then, behind the present mill, a sheer tufa cliff, which would have been an ample defence in itself. It is not at all unlikely that the same cliff formerly continued for some distance beyond the Millstream Gate, above the Portonaccio temple; but there have been heavy falls all along this stretch (aided in at least one place by quarrying : the so-called 'Nymphaeum' of the nineteenth-century antiquaries), and except for a few blocks of walling at one point there are no clear surviving traces of the defences for nearly a kilometre. Beyond the Valle la Fata Gate, on the other hand, the line of the rampart is almost continuously visible, with an occasional outcrop of the footings of the actual wall, including one substantial chunk of masonry at the head of a reentrant valley.

For the defences of the Piazza d'Armi, see Stefani, *Not. Scav.*, 1922, pp. 390–404. The wall itself is not discussed in any detail, but from the brief description and illustrations it appears to have been constructed rather differently to that of the rest of the plateau, with small internal buttresses. In Roman times the Piazza d'Armi lay outside the Roman town and appears to have served as a cemetery. The fact that the gate was in use long enough to have been rebuilt and enlarged strongly suggests, therefore, that these walls are earlier than the rest, and that the Piazza d'Armi was fortified separately, serving as an independent *arx*.

From the Piazza d'Armi round to the Capena Gate the line of the defences is nowhere in doubt, and the actual traces are fairly continuous at least as far as the Vaccherecia postern, in several cases demonstrably so sited as to make use of a natural tufa outcrop. A good example of this, with rock-cut face, can be seen on the west flank of the reentrant valley at the head of which stands the finely preserved stretch of wall illustrated in pl. XIII. For the latter, see Canina, pl. 14, reproduced by Lugli (*op. cit.* fig. 69), who is misled by Canina's schematic rendering of the earth and rubble backing into suggesting a Roman date for it. But Canina can have seen no more than is visible today, when the area behind has been levelled off, flush with the top of the surviving masonry, by two millenia of valley-bottom silting. The masonry itself is laid in alternate courses of headers and stretchers, each 49–56 cm. high and stepped back some 5–6 cm. every second course. As in the section examined near the Capena Gate, some of the vertical joints are slightly oblique, showing that the blocks were quarried rough and their jointed faces dressed as they were used; see pl. XIII, *b*, which also shows

[1] G. Lugli, *Riv. d. R. Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell' Arte*, vii, 1940, p. 156, fig. 2 and p. 162, fig. 10; *cf. La Tecnica Edilizia Romana*, p. 269, fig. 68.

traces of irregular bossing up against the rock face, where a certain amount of rubble had evidently accumulated between the laying of the wall and the final dressing back of its face.

For the North-east (Capena) Gate, see p. 16 and fig. 4.

Except for the well-preserved section of walling excavated in 1959 and described above, the steep slopes overlooking the Valchetta are so overgrown that no specific trace of the defences can be made out until just beyond the Ponte Sodo, where traces of masonry are once more visible in position for some distance along the brow. The Formello Gate presents a further problem. Here the ground slopes very gently back from the valley-bottom and has been heavily cultivated in recent years. The most likely line seems to be that of the low cliff overlooking the stream itself, which at this point cuts down through a thick shelf of compact tufa; the wall visible along the east flank of the road cutting may well be no more than a retaining wall. A short distance west of the cutting the line was still clearly visible in 1936 (Pallottino, *Le Arti*, i, 1938–1939, pp. 402–403); and beyond this the ramparts can be followed as a prominent scarp, with an occasional outcrop of masonry, almost all the way round to the North-west Gate.

(c) *The cemeteries* (fig. 12)

The city of Veii was ringed around with cemeteries. Despite the activities of ancient tomb-robbers (vividly attested, for example, in the Vaccherecia tumulus), of nineteenth-century collectors and recent *clandestini*, enough almost certainly still survived into modern times to have resolved, once and for all, many of the outstanding problems of the city's early history and cultural connections, if only the results of a decade of intensive exploration undertaken at the time of the First World War had been promptly and systematically published. As it is, the premature death of Colini and the other preocupations of his colleague and successor in the enterprise, Giglioli, coupled with the subsequent vicissitudes of the Villa Giulia collections, have meant that a great deal of the essential evidence is still inaccessible, and much of it probably lost for ever. Pending a thorough study of the surviving material, all that can at present be attempted is a summary statement of the location of the various cemeteries, together with a brief appraisal of the character of each, so far as this can now be determined.

The earliest graves were of the familiar Urnfield type, small cylindrical funerary shafts (*tombe a pozzo, pozzetti*), for the most part densely packed within certain clearly defined funerary areas. These were followed by trenched graves (*tombe a fossa*), which with the passage of time tended to become more and more elaborate, the earliest being simple rectangular trenches, either quite plain or more commonly equipped with small loculi to house the grave furniture, the later being larger and progressively deeper, with large funerary recesses amounting in some cases almost to separate chambers. From these it was a relatively easy step to the chamber tombs (*tombe a camera*), which constitute the bulk of the later burials and continued in use well after the destruction of the city in 396.

This in its broad outlines is the development clearly established by Colini (*Not. Scav.*, 1919, pp. 1–12; cf. before him Lanciani, *ibid.*, 1889, pp. 154–8) and followed, for example, by Åkeström (*Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae*, iii, 1934, pp. 13–17; the map that accompanies this article locates several of the cemeteries inaccurately). Like all such formal schemes, it cannot be applied indiscriminately. There must have been a great deal of overlapping between the various types, just as there was overlapping in the transition from cremation to inhumation during the period of

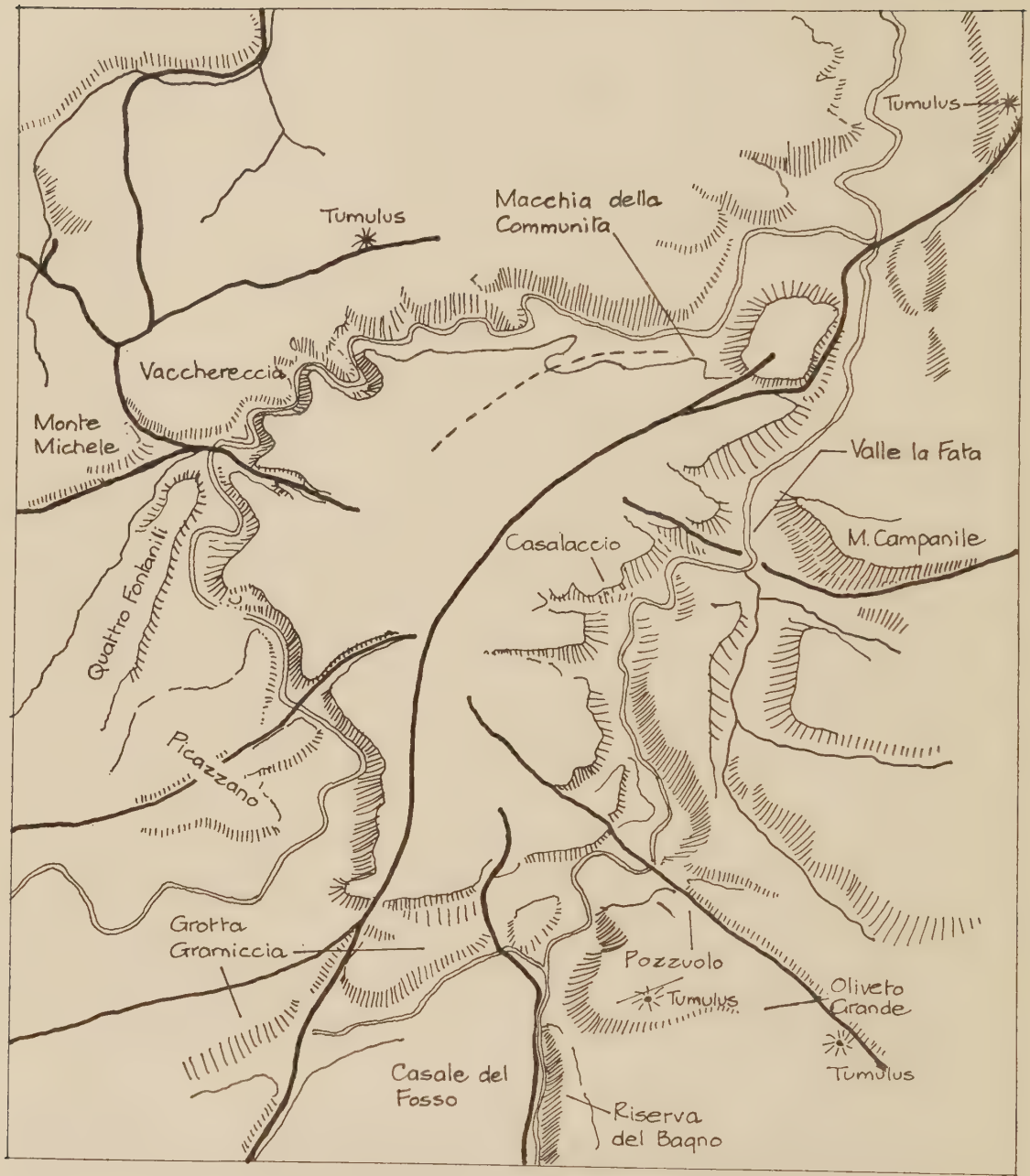


FIG. 12. THE CEMETERIES OF VEII, VIEWED FROM THE NORTH-WEST (*cf.* pl. I)

the trenched graves (the greater elaboration of the later graves is closely linked with the emergence of the new burial rite) and again in the partial reassertion of earlier burial practices in the subsequent chamber tomb phase (*cf.* Lanciani, *op. cit.*, p. 11 for a chamber-tomb containing both rites). It also fails to take into account at least one substantial group of tombs, that of the 'sunken area' or 'courtyard' tombs, described by Vighi in connection with the Casalaccio cemetery (*q.v.*) as *tombe a forma di tramite di tomba a camera.* This type, well illustrated by Stefani (*Not. Scav.*, 1935, pp. 355–357, figs. 23, 25), consists of a sunken rectangular space open to the sky, and it appears to have been contemporary with the more developed chamber tombs, for a truncated example of which it could easily be mistaken. Another important, though numerically limited group, is that of the tumuli, the majority of which must have been princely burials, socially distinct from the main series and sited some distance away from the city. Those examined date from the seventh century B.C.

For the chronology of the individual tombs, and of the various types of tomb, we are dependent on their contents, and it is here above all that a thorough and detailed re-examination of all the available material is called for. There was a considerable time-lag between the cities of the coastal belt and their neighbours inland, at any rate in the earlier stages of their history; and although in many respects the gap must have narrowed considerably under the political conditions of the later sixth and fifth centuries, it does not necessarily follow that this was true in every field. It seems unlikely, for example, that the noticeable absence of recognisable fifth-century imports can be due simply and solely to the hazards of exploration. A more probable explanation would seem to be that, although Red Figured wares were reaching Veii in some quantities, as we know from the votive deposits in the Portonaccio temple, their funerary use was restricted to a fairly limited class of wealthy persons. The majority of the later graves excavated at Veii were relatively humble, and the pottery that they contained was made locally. Here, in the factories of Falerii and Capena, pottery types and fabrics, once established, had a long life; and just as the Italo-geometric tradition remained alive long after its supersession in the more sophisticated coastal cities, so we may suspect that locally-made bucchero, for example, remained in use to a surprisingly late date. The matter could almost certainly be resolved in a single campaign of controlled stratigraphic excavation within the city. Pending this, chronological questions, particularly those concerning the later fabrics, are best left in suspense.

Topographically the cemeteries of the historical Etruscan city like those of its Villanovan predecessor, are closely related to the contemporary road-system. In some cases (*e.g.* the Grotta Gramiccia and Picazzano Villanovan cemeteries) there is an orderly process of expansion outwards from the original nucleus. In others (*e.g.* the Oliveto and perhaps the western part of the Casale del Fosso cemeteries) the tombs appear to be related to roads that came into being at a later stage in the city's history. In general, as in other Etruscan cities, the cemeteries lay well outside the inhabited area, on the slopes and summits of the adjoining hills; but there was evidently no objection to the use, wherever convenient, of the lower slopes of the main promontory. So far no graves of any period have been identified within the actual circuit of the city.

The descriptions of the individual cemeteries that follow are arranged in anti-clockwise order, starting at the North-west Gate. At the end there is a list of the outlying tumuli.

Grotta Gramiccia.—An extension of the Villanovan cemeteries already described. The only published account of the extensive excavations undertaken by Colini and Giglioli among these later graves appears to be that in *Not. Scav.*, 1919, p. 6: the shaft graves (*tombe a pozzo*) were found in compact groups, tightly packed together and sometimes overlapping, on the crest and along the edge of the high ground; next came the simple trenched graves (*tombe a fossa*) and trenched graves with loculi, along the slope of the same hills; and, further again down the slopes, the chamber tombs, cut into the rock along the foot of the hills facing the city.

The cemetery also extended for some distance northwards along the Nepi road. Sherds of Italo-geometric and advanced impasto wares are plentiful along the southern slopes of the next low hill to the north beyond the easternmost of the Villanovan cemeteries; and the earth-filled cavities of several chamber tombs were until recently visible beside the road itself. There is a small tumulus just outside the gate, on the right of the road, and a much larger tumulus ('Monte Tondo') some 2 km. to the north, half-way between the gate and the junction with the Via Cassia.

Two ridged tufa capstones, of the type discussed below in connection with the Vaccherecia cemeteries, were found and broken up in 1959 by the builders of the new Casale, presumably from this cemetery, though not necessarily from the actual site of the farm buildings. See further Appendix III, fig. 35.

Casale del Fosso.—Colini, *Not. Scav.*, 1919, pp. 6–7; Stefani, *Not. Scav.*, 1929, pp. 325–329. The site of this cemetery, extensively explored by Colini, lies along the north side of the present-day Formello road, from its junction with the Via Cassia (near the Casale from which the cemetery takes its name) to the stream that divides it from the adjoining Riserva di Grotta Gramiccia, *i.e.* along the north side of what in later Etruscan times was the road to Caere.

Of Colini's excavations, which are said to have covered an area of 16·000 m.² and to have exposed no less than 280 tombs, we have only his own brief account. Apart from a single 'primitive' (Villanovan?) shaft-grave just west of the stream, the cemetery is said to have occupied the higher ground and to have included only a few shaft-graves, none of them early. There were rather more trenched graves with votive loculi; but by far the commonest form was the developed trenched grave with large sepulchral loculi. The main cemetery lay on the crest[1] and along the edge of the high ground; the chamber tombs occupied the slopes facing the city, the earliest ones just below the brow, the later ones spreading right down the slopes. Stefani subsequently excavated a chamber tomb with a very long dromos near the western end of the cemetery (robbed; bucchero sherds), and adds the important observation that Colini's excavations had revealed, between the latest trenched graves and the main body of chamber tombs, a small group of tombs with very small chambers, similar to that now excavated by himself. These he regards as a form transitional to the fully developed chamber tombs of later practice.

Stefani (MS. notes) also records several chamber tombs in the cutting which carried the Caere road (and today still carries the Formello road) through the ridge to the east of the Ponte del Fosso. The entrance to one of these is still visible, but there is unfortunately, no record of the contents, which might have afforded valuable evidence of the date at which the road was cut.

Riserva dell'Oliveto (*Oliveto Grande, Pozzuolo*).—The stretch of high, rolling ground (also sometimes referred to in whole or part as Riserva del Bagno) which lies south and west of the Fosso Piordo, east of the Via Cassia, and north of the road that now leads from the Cassia to Isola Farnese. This stretch of ground, which is traversed obliquely by the line of the old Formello road, houses the remains of two substantial Etruscan cemeteries. The one occupied the narrow ridge of high ground that overlooks the Fosso Piordo (Fosso della Mola) from the south, separating what are probably the earlier and later courses of the road to Caere (see p. 8). The other appears to have been concentrated mainly in the area to the east of the old Formello road. Stefani and others apply the name of Oliveto Grande to the southern part of this latter area, which is planted with long-established olive trees, distinguishing it from the northern part, on the high ground overlooking the Ponte del Fosso and the Mill, to which they give the name of Pozzuolo, or San Vito. On the other hand, Colini (see below) appears to have used the name Pozzuolo for the whole area.

[1] But not continuously. Deep tractor-ploughing in the autumn of 1960 has shown that over most of the ridge there were very few burials along the actual crest, except around the head of the small reentrant valley that lies a short distance to the east of the Casale. Here there was a group of tombs containing advanced impasto and Italo-geometric wares, and burials in red impasto ollae. See Appendix III, p. 99.

Of the first of these two cemeteries, traces of the rock-cut tombs of which are evident along the crest and southern slopes of the ridge for some distance westwards from the Ponte del Fosso, there does not seem to be any published account. A single painted tomb was located here in 1958 and has since been cleared and consolidated by the Superintendency. The painted scheme is very simple, a tall plinth surmounted by horizontal bands of colour and a frieze of stylised, duck-like birds. For the further excavations undertaken here by the Superintendency in the autumn of 1960, see Appendix III, p. 105.

For the southern and more extensive cemetery, see Colini, *Not. Scav.*, 1919, p. 7; Stefani, *ibid.*, 1929, pp. 329–330; Inglieri, *ibid.*, 1930, pp. 69–71. Colini notes that the chamber tombs of this cemetery are large and late, and that many of them are laid out in relation to the deeply trenched road that linked the Millstream Gate with the line followed later by the Via Cassia, an observation that is confirmed by Stefani, who found that they had already been rifled in Roman times. Colini also observed traces of other chamber tombs on the plateau above (*i.e.* presumably to the north of the road). Canina (pl. II) marks, but does not describe, tombs found in 1842 just to the west of the old road, not far from where it leaves the Via Cassia. Inglieri records the chance discovery and excavation, in 1922 and 1927, of two large chamber tombs in the Oliveto Grande, both probably dating from the latter part of the seventh century. There are also the remains of two substantial tumuli.

A rectangular chamber tomb found in 1926 in the Riserva Quaranta Rubbie (Adriani, *Not. Scav.*, 1930, pp. 57–66) is presumably an outlier of the same cemetery. It lay in the angle between the Via Cassia and the Via Clodia, about 500 m. from the fork, and was of early sixth-century date.

Isola Farnese.—The early travellers to Veii record numerous 'tombs' on the promontory occupied by the village of Isola Farnese. It is not impossible that there were indeed isolated burials here. The majority of the rock-cut chambers now visible, however, are certainly not tombs, but the habitations and stables of the village that grew up under the protection of the medieval castle. There is no evidence that in Etruscan times this was the site of a substantial cemetery. The few scattered sherds that can be picked up on the surface of the plateau appear to be domestic in character.

Casalaccio (*Torraccia*).—On the left bank of the Fosso della Mola, below the walls of the town, near the prominent ruined farmhouse, 'il Casalaccio.' R. Vighi, *Not. Scav.*, 1935, pp. 39–68, describes the excavation of twenty-one tombs situated in two distinct groups: seven trenched graves (*tombe a fossa*) of varying complexity, six chamber tombs, and eight 'courtyard' graves (*tombe a forma di tramite di tomba a camera*). The burials covered a wide range of time: one grave that contained nothing but impasto; a group with Italo-geometric, Protocorinthian and Corinthian (or derivatives); a small group of cremation burials with late bucchero and Red Figured; and a small but very significant group containing 'Etrusco-Campanian' wares of the fourth to third centuries B.C. This last affords valuable evidence of the substantial continuity of human habitation on Veii even after the formal destruction of the Etruscan city in 396; *cf.* also the Macchia della Comunità cemetery.

Valle la Fata.—Alongside the Villanovan graves described in the preceding section (p. 25) there were several trenched inhumation graves of the immediately succeeding period, and one grave containing a large ovoid cinerary urn of bucchero (for the latter, *cf.* the Monte Michele cemetery).

Monte Campanile.—Colini, *Not. Scav.*, 1919, p. 7, apparently the only published reference to the excavation of a group of chamber tombs along the crest of the prominent spur that carried the early Veii-Rome trackway up to the higher ground opposite the city. The tombs are described as being small and rectangular, with long dromoi but without benches or loculi. They had been previously looted and the only surviving material was Italo-geometric. The site is wrongly located on the map published in *Not. Scav.*, 1922, p. 380, fig. 1 (followed by Åkeström, *op. cit.*, p. 14).

Macchia della Comunità.—On the east side of the city, cut into the slopes of the main plateau only a short distance to the north of the Piazza d'Armi. Colini (*Not. Scav.*, 1919, p. 7) records the opening by Giglioli and himself of seventy-five tombs, mostly intact chamber tombs and remarkably homogeneous in their contents, which consisted of Italo-geometric, Protocorinthian and fine-quality bucchero with fan-pattern ornament. There were also (*ibid.*, p. 9) a few cremated shaft graves (*pozzetti*) and trenched graves with votive loculi, containing earlier material.

Continuing the same excavations, Adriani (*Not. Scav.*, 1930, pp. 46–56) cleared eleven more tombs, this time more varied in character, eight being trenched graves (two with impasto only, six with impasto, Italo-geometric, Protocorinthian and bucchero), two of mixed character (late bucchero and late Red Figured; end of fifth century) and one only a chamber tomb, containing Etrusco-Campanian material of the third century.

Vaccherecia.—Jonas Palm, *Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae*, 4°, xvi, 1952, pp. 50–86, describing and illustrating two groups of tombs, from the Picazzano (Quattro Fontanili) and Vaccherecia

cemeteries respectively, excavated in 1889 by Vespignani under the direction of Lanciani; the contents of most of these tombs are now in the Museo Preistorico Pigorini di Roma. The Vaccherecia excavations are said to have marked the south-west limit of the main cemetery, and their position is shown on the MS. map contained in Lanciani's notes as lying along the slopes immediately to the west of the ridgeway track some 600–800 m. north of the Vaccherecia tumulus, *i.e.* not far from the modern Casale. (For the probability that this is a mistake on what is in any case a very schematic, and in outline very inaccurate, map and that the cemetery in fact lay further to the west, near the edge of the plateau, see below). With the exception of a single tomb (XIX) containing a Villanovan ossuary, the material from the twenty-four graves is homogeneous and represents an early phase in the development of the Etruscan cemeteries of Veii, during which impasto wares still predominate, the main ceramic affinities being with the Faliscan cemeteries of Narce and Falerii itself; there is little bucchero, and the few vases of ultimately Greek derivation are Italo-geometric in character; metalwork and orientalizing trinkets are common. The whole group is decidedly earlier in character than that from the Picazzano (Quattro Fontanili) cemetery (*q.v.*).

The Vaccherecia tumulus (p. 47) may be considered as an outlier of the same cemetery. Around it were a certain number of secondary graves, two of which, both open 'courtyard' tombs, were excavated at the same time as the tumulus (*Not. Scav.*, 1935, pp. 355–357).

The whole area of the Vaccherecia cemetery is now under cultivation, having been heavily tractor-ploughed some years ago to a depth which must have destroyed most of the surviving traces, except at the few points where there was sufficient soil to protect the underlying remains. Careful superficial observation in the autumn of 1960 shows that, whether or not there was a substantial nucleus near the crest of the plateau (and of this there was no visible trace), there was certainly an early cemetery along the western edge of the plateau, overlooking the valley of the Fosso del Pascolaro and the North-east Gate. Here, just opposite Monte Michele, there is a projecting tongue of high ground, which rises at the end to form a low, but quite distinct, flat-topped knoll, and on this could be seen the ploughed-out remains of several Villanovan graves. Just below the crest of this knoll, on the upper slopes towards the south-west and north-west there were small groups of recently smashed sherds of painted Italo-geometric and advanced impasto wares, and about 100 m. further to the north the shattered remains of a ploughed-out grave group, which had included a fan-patterned bucchero kantharos. Two boulders of a hard, exotic tufa, lying beside a recently dug hollow in the plough some distance up the ridge, mark the site of a grave found and looted by the ploughman. There were also traces of graves containing bucchero here and there along the crest of the cutting that carried the Capena road. If these finds are in any sense representative, the development of this cemetery followed the same pattern as that of the Picazzano (Quattro Fontanili) and Grotta Gramiccia cemeteries, though possibly in a less concentrated form, *i.e.* a Villanovan nucleus established on a prominent knoll; spreading outwards from it, and particularly down the upper slopes facing the city, the graves of the immediately succeeding period; and a loose fringe of later graves, containing wares such as bucchero, which did not reach Veii before the latter part of the seventh century. That there were two such cemeteries on the Vaccherecia plateau is unlikely, though not impossible; and since this site, close to the city and one of its principal exits, is also topographically the more plausible, it may well in fact be the cemetery that was excavated by Lanciani.

The most distinctive remains of the Vaccherecia cemetery now visible are several capstones of tufa, each in the form of a large, circular or slightly oval disc with a prominent dorsal ridge forming an elongated hump near the middle of the upper face (fig. 13, 1). The remains of at least three of these were visible in 1959, ploughed out near the edge of the cliffs overlooking the Valchetta; and another, similar but bossed instead of ridged, was found near the Vaccherecia tumulus (*Not. Scav.*, 1935, p. 361, fig. 30). In connection with the latter Stefani notes that 'similar capstones have been found in position over archaic tombs in the Grotta Gramiccia area and elsewhere,' and two (fig. 13, 3, 4) were recently unearthed and broken up by the builders of the Casale that occupies the site of the destroyed Villanovan cemetery. In the autumn of 1960 a number of capstones of this and related forms were ploughed out in the Picazzano (Quattro Fontanili), Grotta Gramiccia and Casale del Fosso cemeteries; see Appendix III. *Cf.* also *Not. Scav.*, 1901, pp. 245–246, from Monte Michele.

Capstones of this form, the shape of which suggests derivation from the roofs of hut-urns, belong to the earliest phase of post-Villanovan development, and they appear to be restricted to Veii and the Faliscan territory, being otherwise recorded only from Falerii Veteres and Narce. The setting to which they belong is best illustrated at Narce, where Tomb 32 of the Petrina cemetery (*Mon. Ant.* iv, c. 126 and fig. 41, *cf.* c. 421; atlas, pl. IV, 12) is of precisely this form, the resemblance extending even to the triangular cut-aways at the two ends of the dorsal ridge. Here, at Narce, these ridged capstones can be seen to belong to a wide range of related but variable forms, in some cases consisting of independent covers to small rock-cut funerary shafts, in others of the fitted covers to the stone receptacles in which were deposited the actual funerary urns. The Narce tomb in question contained a decorated funerary urn of red impasto (*ibid.*, fig. 105, *a*) and two early Etruscan bronze

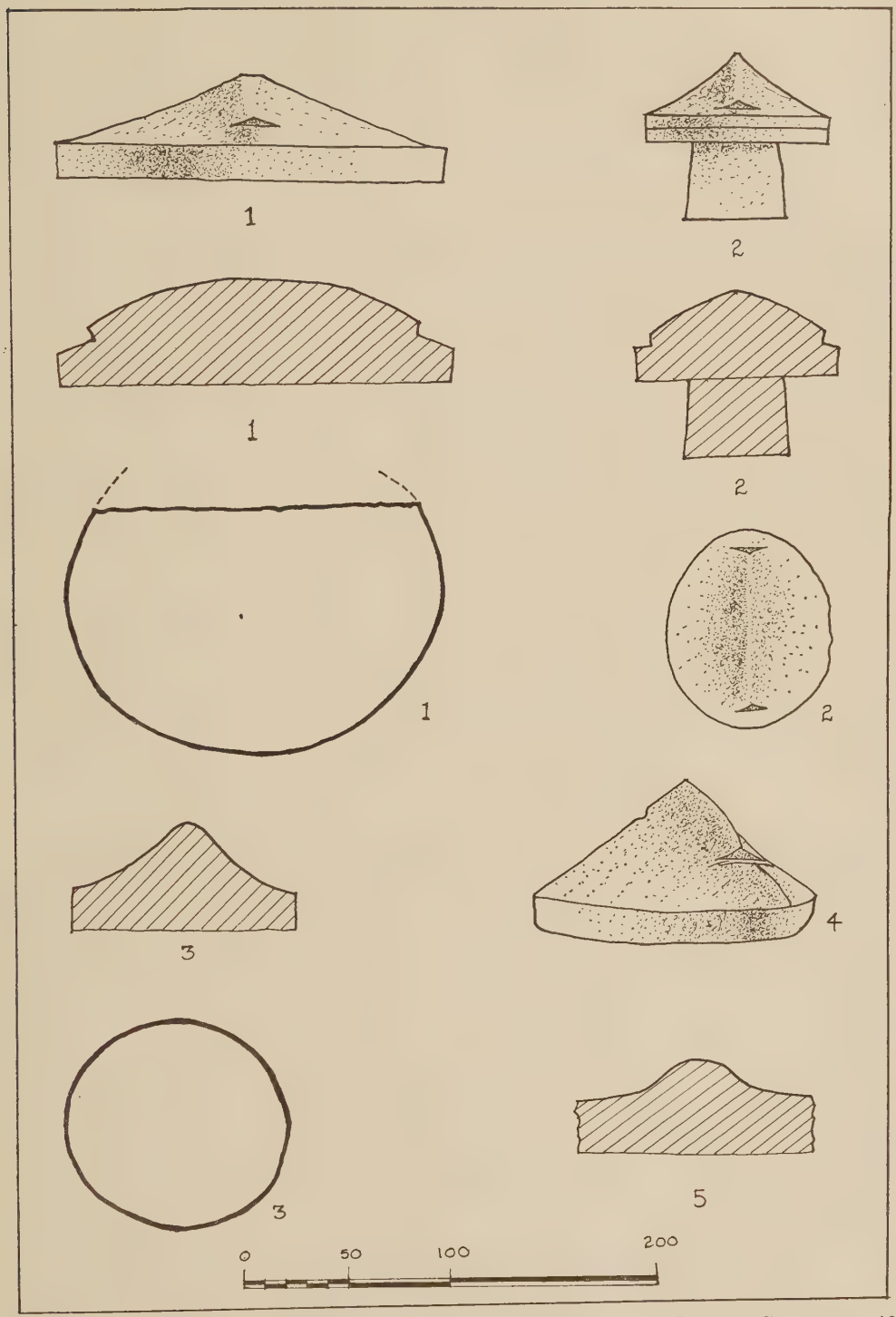


FIG. 13. CAPSTONES. 1, VACCHERECCIA; 2, FALERII VETERES; 3–5, GROTTA GRAMICCIA, 1959

fibulae (*ibid.*, pl. X, 12). A close parallel, but cut in one piece with a short rectangular stem, giving it the appearance of a giant mushroom, is a capstone from the Celle cemetery at Falerii Veteres (fig. 13, 2), now displayed in the new wing of the Villa Giulia Museum (Room 24); it, too, has the triangular cut-aways at either end of the dorsal ridge. In the same room (from Falerii?) is the very shallow, truncated pyramidal capstone (diam. 0·60, ht. 0·20) of a globular stone urn, closely resembling that found near the Vaccherecia tumulus. Yet, another, from the Mantarano cemetery at Falerii, though circular in plan (diam. 0·60, ht. 0·34), has a pronounced dorsal ridge and forms the fitted lid of a hemispherical stone container, within which was found a globular cinerary urn of plain red impasto.

A number of fresh examples were exposed by the deep ploughing of the Picazzano (Quattro Fontanili) cemetery in the autumn of 1960, and will be described in the report on that excavation. The examples given above are, however, sufficient to establish the general affinities and date of the specimens found at Veii. They indicate the extension of the original Grotta Gramiccia cemeteries and the establishment of substantial new cemeteries on the slopes of Monte Michele and on the Vaccherecia plateau in the immediately post-Villanovan period.

Monte Michele—a prominent hill opposite the North-east (Capena) Gate in the angle between the Etruscan roads leading, respectively, to Monte Aguzzo and to Capena and the Tiber. Although extensively ransacked by *clandestini*, the only records of systematic excavation in this area are those referring to the discovery of the celebrated painted Campana tomb (Canina, pp. 75–76, pls. XXVIII–XXXII), and to the researches of the brothers Benedetti in 1900–1901, recorded by Mengarelli in *Not. Scav.*, 1901, pp. 238–246. The latter, which included at least one tomb (Tomb 20, p. 244) that may well be later than the destruction of Veii, is of interest chiefly for the evidence that it affords for the late survival, or re-emergence, of archaic burial forms; *e.g.* Tombs 1 and 2 (p. 240), both small, circular, slab-covered shafts (*pozzetti*) containing bucchero cinerary urns of a type similar to one from Valle la Fata, illustrated in *Not. Scav.*, 1929, p. 342, fig. 23; *cf. ibid.*, 1933, p. 430, fig. 12. Others were hillside variants of the 'courtyard' type.

Picazzano (*Quattro Fontanili*).—The triangle of high ground that lies immediately to the north of the city, bounded on the west by the Formello road, on the south by the Fosso della Valchetta, and on the north-east by a small tributary of the Valchetta, the Fosso del Pascolaro. The south-eastern extremity of the triangle, facing that part of the city which lies between the North-west Gate and the Ponte Sodo, is also sometimes known as 'I Quattro Fontanili,' a name which may conveniently be used to distinguish the cemetery situated at its apex from those lying further to the west.

This whole area is one that was extensively explored by the earlier antiquaries. Between 1838 and 1841 Canina (p. 74; *cf.* pl. II) opened about a thousand tombs, but left no detailed account of his work. In 1888–1889 Lanciani and Vespignani conducted a further series of excavations on behalf of the Empress of Brazil, summary accounts of which appeared in *Not. Scav.*, 1889 (pp. 10–12, 29–31, 60–62 and 238–239). It seems that the majority of the tombs examined on the latter occasion lay in the western part of the area to the south-east of the modern Formello road, and that they were either simple trenched graves or chamber tombs of modest dimensions, which had mostly been previously looted of any objects of value. The contents of twenty-one of them passed to the Museo Preistorico, in Rome, where they have been studied and published by Jonas Palm in *Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae*, 4°, xvi, 1952, pp. 50–86. They belong to a generally later phase than the group from the Vaccherecia cemetery published by the same author, the earliest of them (Tomb XVIII) already containing imitations of contemporary bucchero forms. In general bucchero predominates (some of it fine, early quality), with a liberal admixture of advanced impasto and of painted vessels of ultimately geometric derivation, as well as a number of Italo-Protocorinthian and Italo-Corinthian aryballoi.

From the previously published accounts it might well have been thought that little of value remained to be explored in this area. Any such illusion was rudely dispelled in the summer of 1960 when deep tractor-ploughing, undertaken by the Ente Maremma in preparation for the establishment of one of its Land Resettlement small-holdings, shattered the surviving remains of several hundred funerary shafts, ranging in date from Villanovan to the Orientalising Period. These were concentrated on the crest and upper slopes of the knoll that marks the extremity of the Quattro Fontanili ridge, overlooking the North-east Gate and the junction of the Fosso del Pascolaro with the Valchetta. On the summit was the Villanovan cemetery already referred to (p. 25); and spreading outwards from it, principally on the side facing the city, groups of later graves, of which the latest contained red impasto cineraries, vessels of advanced impasto and a very few vessels of soft white clay which were probably painted. It was in this area, along the south-west edge of the hill, that Ambrosetti excavated the early trenched graves described in *Not. Scav.*, 1954, pp. 1–5. A systematic excavation is now in progress. For a brief summary of this, see Appendix III, p. 110.

The cemeteries further to the west, between the Ponte Sodo and the modern Formello road, were evidently independent and, on the evidence available, relatively late developments. Immediately to the west of the Ponte Sodo the surface of the tufa is exposed at the foot of the slopes, revealing the outlines of a number of open, roughly rectangular, 'courtyard' tombs and, threading its way through them, a short stretch of the ancient rock-cut road running down the valley. Westwards again, beyond the Formello Gate, is the area examined by Lanciani. One of the very few graves which he describes in detail (*op. cit.*, pp. 10–12) was a small chamber tomb containing what is described as a Red Figured vase of poor quality.

Outlying Tumuli—

Pisciacavallo ('Monte Tondo')—beside the Nepi road, 2 km. north of the North-west Gate.

Olgiata ('Monticchio')—at the western extremity of the Olgiata estate, 3 km. due west of the North-west Gate, on the high ground about half-way between the ancient roads to Tarquinii and Caere.

Oliveto Grande—two substantial tumuli within the Oliveto cemetery (*q.v.*), just north of the road from the Millstream gate.

Via Veientana—on the edge of the cliffs overlooking the Valchetta from the south, at the point where the Via Veientana emerges on to the opposite plateau (*PBSR*, xxiii, 1955, p. 52).

Vaccherecia—on the crest of the Vaccherecia ridge, facing the east side of the city; a prominent local landmark. Excavated by Stefani (*Not. Scav.*, 1935, pp. 329–361) and found to contain a single chamber tomb with a long dromos, and a smaller, secondary grave opening off the dromos. Though plundered in antiquity, much of the pottery had survived, including a Corinthian olpe, two locally-made, four-handled, painted amphorae, and a quantity of bucchero. According to Mrs. Redmayne (Miss Brenda Mason), the bucchero of the main tomb indicates a date *c.* 630–615; that of the secondary grave a date at the very end of the same century.

Monte Oliviero—beside the ancient road, about 3 km. north-west of the latter site. A small associated cemetery yielded three chamber tombs containing fine early bucchero and two much later 'courtyard' tombs (*Not. Scav.*, 1928, pp. 95–105).

Monte Aguzzo (The Chigi Tomb)—on the summit of M. Aguzzo (247 m.), 3·5 km. north of the North-east Gate; another prominent landmark. Excavated in 1880–1881. Although ransacked in antiquity, it still contained a great deal of fragmentary pottery (*Not. Scav.*, 1882, pp. 291–300), including the famous Chigi Vase (Protocorinthian) and a small graffito-inscribed bucchero amphora, both now in the Villa Giulia Museum.

(d) *Water-supply and Drainage*

An aspect of the Etruscan achievement that has hardly received the attention which it merits is the skill which they displayed in handling water. The most impressive monument of this, the elaborate system of field-drainage *cuniculi* with which the valleys to the north of the city are honeycombed for a distance of several kilometres, belongs rather to the Ager Veientanus and will be described and discussed on another occasion. The surviving remains from the city itself are, however, far from negligible, including as they do the Ponte Sodo and (probably though not certainly of Etruscan date) the great *cuniculus* that carries the surplus water from the Fosso di Formello through to the Fosso Piordo on the other side of the city; and they serve to illustrate most aspects of Etruscan enterprise in this field.

First a word of definition. The *cuniculus*, though not confined to tufa country, was most at home, and may well have originated, in the volcanic district of Latium and of Southern Etruria. Here even the hardest beds of tufa could be readily quarried with a pick, and very often the most convenient way of conveying water from one place to another was by means of a rock-cut tunnel. The size and shape of such a tunnel, usually a narrow, elongated oval with a flat bottom, about 1·60 m. high, was dictated by the minimum space within which a man could reasonably

work; and its other characteristic feature, the series of vertical shafts that communicate with the surface at intervals of some 30–40 m., was determined by the need to provide air to the workman and a convenient means of disposing of the quarried rock. These shafts, which must also have helped in the practical correction of surveying errors, are normally equipped with footholds for climbing in and out and were covered with capstones.

Cuniculi were equally well adapted for the supply of water or for its disposal. Disregard of this simple fact has in the past led to a great deal of unnecessary controversy. Another fact that is often overlooked is that, although the majority of those found in an archaeological context are almost certainly ancient, of either Etruscan or Roman date, so essentially functional a device might be, and on occasion was, adopted at any period. One beneath the present mill-house at Veii must date from the nineteenth century. It may be that the *cuniculi* that can be seen issuing from the cliffs of many of the medieval villages of Southern Etruria are sound evidence of previous classical settlement; but this has still to be demonstrated.

The water-supply on the plateau of Veii was doubtless derived mainly from cisterns. Of the few that have been excavated two, and perhaps a third, were of a self-replenishing type familiar also from early Rome, *i.e.* vertical shafts with several short lateral galleries opening off radially to tap water-bearing strata.[1] Several rather more elaborate versions of the same principle are recorded from Portonaccio. These take the form of a *cuniculus* driven straight into the hillside, or in one case (this last possibly but not certainly a catchment *cuniculus*) following the line of the cliff, a few metres in from the face, presumably in order to collect the water seeping outwards at this level. At Portonaccio there is also an example of what may well be an aqueduct in the usual sense of the word, *i.e.* a *cuniculus* conveying water from the Piordo stream above the falls to the tank beside the temple.

The majority of the *cuniculi* in and around Veii were, however, for drainage. This was certainly the purpose of the system in the fields to the north of the city, good examples of which can be seen in the area covered by figs. 44–47, in the Fosso di Grotta Gramiccia and again in the Olgiata estate, west of the Via Cassia. It was also true within the town itself. The mouths of most of these drains are now choked with earth or vegetation; but in the form either of *cuniculi* or of open masonry or rock-cut channels they were a regular feature of both streets and houses. In 1958 and again in 1959 the excavations near the North-west Gate exposed *cuniculi* which must have been purely domestic in purpose. A good example of a street drain, in this case built of squared masonry, can be seen alongside the precinct wall of the Portonaccio sanctuary. Another was recorded by Stefani near the Capena Gate, consisting of an open channel, which collected the surface drainage of a secondary street and deposited it in the *cuniculus* that ran down to the edge of the main street leading to the gate. There was a settling tank at the point of junction and, as an added refinement, there was an open gutter along the bank above, to collect the rain water from the roofs of the adjoining houses and any seepage from the face of the bank. As Stefani remarks, drainage was a necessity in this very soft, easily weathered

[1] A. M. Colini, *Bull. Comm.*, lxix, 1941, pp. 83–85. Gjerstad, in interpreting the remains as of two distinct periods (*Early Rome*, iii, pp. 209–212, figs, 130–133), disregards the obvious analogies with the examples at Veii.

rock, and here is evidence that the Etruscans had acquired great practical skill in handling it.

A monument familiar to every visitor is the Ponte Sodo (fig. 14; pl. XII, *a*). This is a tunnel, now some 70 m. long, which carries the Valchetta stream through a

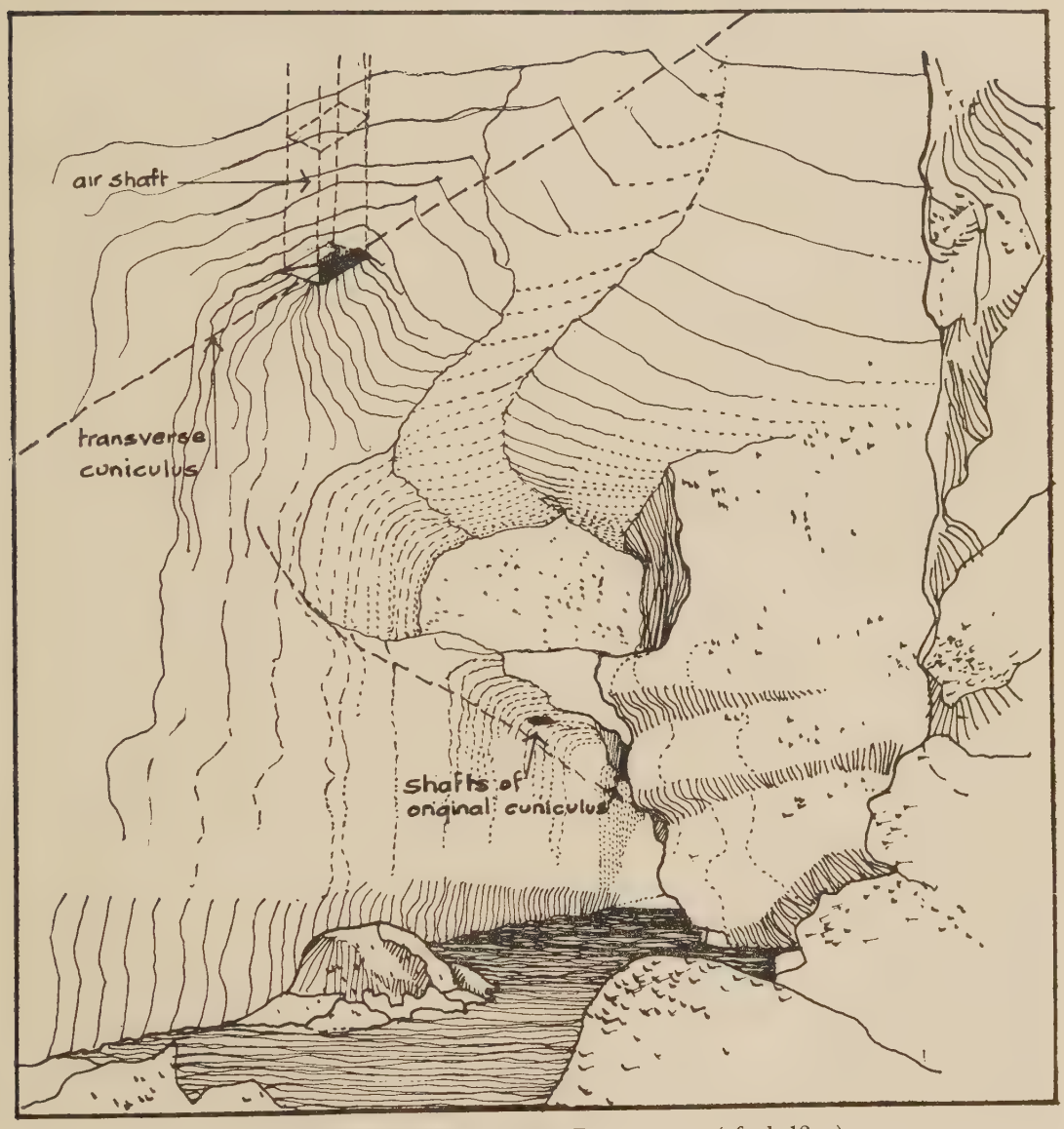


FIG. 14. PONTE SODO, LOOKING DOWNSTREAM (*cf.* pl. 12, *a*)

low, rocky bluff that projects northwards from the main plateau midway between the Capena and Formello gates. Its presumable purpose was to eliminate an awkward horseshoe bend in the river, at a point which must always have been very liable to

flood; and at the same time it afforded a bridge of natural rock to the rich fields on the other side of the valley. Anybody who has seen the Valchetta in spate after a thunderstorm in the hills will appreciate the reasons that led to its cutting; and although the bridge may in this case be incidental to the main purpose of the cutting, there are plenty of examples elsewhere (*e.g.* along the roads to Caere, to Capena and to Vulci) to show that the diversion of a stream through a *cuniculus* was a familiar alternative to bridging. As to date, the Ponte Sodo is certainly later than the drainage *cuniculus* through which it cuts, but earlier presumably than the late fifth-century defences, the line of which is decidedly weakened by the existence of this very easy approach. Indeed, the cutting of the Ponte Sodo affords valuable confirmation for the belief (p. 36) that before the late fifth century the inhabitants of Veii did not feel the need of any system of defences other than those of the *arx* on the Piazza d'Armi.

Less immediately spectacular than the Ponte Sodo, but even bolder in conception, is the *cuniculus* by which a substantial part of the water from the Fosso di Formello is transferred through the ridge to the Fosso Piordo on the other of the plateau. The former is by far the larger stream, draining the greater part of the eastern range of the Monti Sabatini, and the result of the transfer was, and still is, to provide a steady flow round the west and south sides of the town throughout the year. Since the Middle Ages and down to very recent times this flow has been used to turn a water-mill, and one is naturally led to ask whether this may not have been the original purpose of the scheme and, if so, when it was undertaken.

The topographical facts are simple enough. The water is diverted from the Fosso di Formello just above the present Ponte di Formello and is carried through the ridge in a *cuniculus*, over 600 m. long and over 25 m. deep at the deepest point, which follows a line corresponding very closely to that of the present road across the ridge and discharges under the present bridge. It then flows in what is now an open channel beside the road, through the artificial cutting which in Etruscan times carried the Caere road, and so out into the Piordo just below the Ponte del Fosso, beside the Casale Agrifolio. Below this point the Piordo follows a winding course, first south along the cliffs of the Oliveto ridge, then east across the valley, and then south again to the mill, which stands up against the cliffs of Veii, just above the falls and just below what, before any of these diversions took place, must have been the junction of the Grotta Gramiccia stream with the Piordo.

The mill itself (p. 10) which went out of use about ten years ago, is itself of no great age. In Roman times the falls, the point at which the stream breaks through the main tufa shelf, were at least 150 m. downstream, opposite the modern Isola Farnese cemetery. Immediately below the present falls the stream (fig. 2) swings back across the valley, before turning once more sharply to the south, round the end of the promontory known as 'la Rotonda,' and so out into the more open valley between Isola Farnese and Portonaccio. The present mill thus stands at the eastern extremity of a natural loop of the stream; and across the neck of this loop, corresponding roughly with the line of the modern road between the mill and the Ponte del Fosso, there is a second large *cuniculus*, which, when not closed by a modern sluice, takes most of the water from the stream-bed and discharges it into the angle of the gorge, about 100 m. below the falls.

Was there a water-mill here in antiquity? We cannot be certain; but it would at least explain the elaborate provisions for ensuring an adequate flow of water within the Piordo by transferring to it a substantial part of the flow of the Valchetta; and it is very hard to suggest a convincing alternative. The stream as such serves no defensive purpose; the level is nowhere high enough for it to have been connected with the water-supply of the main plateau; and there are no traces of any installations such as baths in the valley below. That so elaborate a work would have been undertaken by the little medieval community of Isola Farnese is in the highest degree improbable. It must assuredly be ancient—either Etruscan or Roman; and in default of any convincing alternative, it seems reasonable to conclude that there was in fact a mill here already in classical times. It was sited at the head of the falls, somewhere opposite the modern cemetery; and it was fed by the otherwise unexplained *cuniculus* that cuts across the bend to the west of the present mill.

If this was indeed a mill, when was it established? On this point the evidence is conflicting and in the present state of knowledge one can only state the alternatives. The latest study of the history of milling in antiquity[1] concludes that the water-mill was an invention of the Roman period, and the earliest attested references to it are of the first century B.C. The documentary sources are few and the argument is, in consequence, rather fine-spun; but, such as the evidence is, it certainly seems to point in this direction. On the other hand, this is a subject that has received little or no attention in the field; and assuming (as one surely must) that this whole system of *cuniculi* linking the Fosso di Formello and the Piordo is part of a single scheme, planned on a single occasion, then not only does the use of the Caere road-cutting strongly suggest an Etruscan date, but the whole scale and conception of the enterprise would be very much more in character with the resources and pretensions of the Etruscan city than with all that we know of its Roman successor. Neither argument is conclusive; still less do they demonstrate the existence of an Etruscan water-mill at Veii. But, if it should ever prove to be the case that the water-mill has a longer history than appears at first sight from the literary sources, and that in this, as in so much else of their knowledge of practical hydraulics, the Romans drew upon Etruscan experience, then it is very likely that here at Veii we have evidence of an actual Etruscan example.

For the *cuniculi* of the Campagna Romana and the Ager Veientanus, see Plinio Fraccaro, 'Di alcuni antichissimi lavori idraulici di Roma e della Campagna,' in his collected *Opuscola* (Pavia, 1957), vol. 3, pp. 1–36, reprinted with four added appendices from *Bullettino della Società Geografica Italiana*, 5, viii, 1919, pp. 186–215. Fraccaro's article is valuable both for its critical bibliography of previous studies and for its demonstration that a great many of the *cuniculi* of the Roman Campagna were cut for the purpose of collecting water, not for its disposal; but it falls into the error of assuming that all must have served the same function. In particular, it criticises Thomas Ashby for stating (*The Roman Campagna in Classical Times*, London, 1927) that much of the area to the north of Veii was drained by an elaborate system of valley-bottom *cuniculi*. In this case there can be no doubt that Ashby (who had seen them) was right and that Fraccaro (who had not) was wrong. This system of *cuniculi* will be discussed in a future article.

For cisterns with lateral collector-galleries, see *Not. Scav.*, 1889, p. 10 (house in the Macchia della Comunità), and *Mon. Ant. Lincei*, xl, 1944, cc. 260–265, figs. 67–69 (two cisterns associated with the temple on the Piazza d'Armi).

For the *cuniculi* of the Portonaccio Sanctuary, *Not. Scav.*, 1953, pp. 87–93. Cuniculus A was traced for nearly 100 m. before being blocked by rock falls and is certainly of Etruscan date, serving

[1] L. A. Moritz, *Grain Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity*, Oxford, 1958, chapter XVI.

the large tank beside the temple. It is there taken to be of simple catchment type, tapping a water-bearing vein in the rock. A very likely alternative, given the direction and level at which it runs, is that it was cut to convey water directly from the Piordo stream just above the falls, then much nearer; the ingress would have been buried by the falls that have since taken place on either side of the Caere Gate. This *cuniculus* remained in use a long time, being twice remodelled, the first time to serve a roadside conduit built of roof-tiles taken from the temple, the second by the insertion of two storage tanks. Two others (B and C), one possibly Etruscan and the other of Roman date, do seem to be simple catchment *cuniculi*, following the water-bearing vein just above the main tufa shelf; the latter cutting and putting out of use the second-phase conduit from *cuniculus* A, in order to serve a large cistern with an overflow fountain beside the Roman road (*ibid.*, figs. 61, 62). Yet another was found running parallel with the cliff-face and a short distance in from it, below the temple platform; it was explored for a distance of 31 m. in one direction and communicated with the surface through a rectangular shaft, 1·35 m. × 0·60 m. in section. This, too, is taken by Stefani to be a catchment *cuniculus*, designed to trap lateral seepage towards the cliff-face. There is, however, no provision whatsoever for storage at the base of the shaft, which is of the shape and dimensions of a normal service shaft; nor is its location half-way down the compact, rocky mass of the tufa shelf very plausible in such a context.

For the drain along the outer face of the Portonaccio precinct wall, beside the road, see *Not. Scav.*, 1953, p. 34, fig. 8; it is built of squared tufa blocks with a covering of slabs. For the roadside drains near the Capena Gate, *Not. Scav.*, 1922, p. 385 and fig. 2. Roadside drains, either in the form of open gutters or of *cuniculi*, are a necessary feature of road-construction in this tufa country. For two Faliscan examples of Etruscan date, see *PBSR*, xxv, 1957, pp. 116–117, near Corchiano; an excellent example of medieval or later date can be seen beside the old road above Sacrofano.

The Ponte Sodo (*i.e.* 'Ponte Solido') is now just over 70 m. long, but may well have been over 100 m. long originally (fig. 14). The dimensions of the original channel cannot now be determined with certainty, since it has weathered both outwards and upwards, the present ceiling of the tunnel being the under-surface of a natural shelf of harder rock. The two surviving shafts, each some 1·60 × 0·65 m. in section, are 29·90 m. apart and, to judge from their positioning flush with the north wall of the tunnel, this was perhaps at first not very much (if at all) larger than a normal *cuniculus*. At the upstream (west) end there are, however, the remains of a second tunnel cut at a higher level. Here the roof of the lower gallery has fallen, exposing the roof and profile of an uncompleted upper gallery, which is broader (just over 3 m.) than it is tall, with a ceiling that slopes gently down on either side of the central line, like a pitched roof; it is not straight, but follows a gentle S-curve, and cut by it at an oblique angle there is the channel and one shaft of an earlier *cuniculus* of conventional type. Were the discrepancy a little less one might have assumed this unfinished upper tunnel to be the result of a miscalculation by two teams working from different ends, evidently a frequent practice in such cases. A vertical error of 3–4 m. is, however, out of all proportion. One is left with two alternatives: either a change of plan, perhaps occasioned by the discovery of the hard stratum referred to above, or else a later attempt to enlarge the channel that was never completed. In time of spate the present channel, large as it is, is almost completely filled with water at its narrowest point, and one can readily appreciate the decision to eliminate the horseshoe bend which it cuts off. The original course of the stream is still plainly visible on the ground.

For the early use of the hot springs in the Valchetta gorge (later the Roman 'Bagni della Regina') see *PBSR*, xxviii, 1959, p. 66. Incorporated in the fill of a pre-Roman post-hole were a small polished axe, of dark green epidosite schist, and a bronze Etruscan fibula (*ibid.*, pl. XXV). For the Roman bath-building on the same site, see p. 71.

V. REPUBLICAN VEII (fig. 15)

'O Veii veteres, et vos tum regna fuistis
Et vestro posita est aurea sella foro:
Nunc intra muros pastoris bucina lenti
Cantat, et in vestris ossibus arva metunt.'
(Propertius IV, 10, 27–30.)

So the Roman poet Propertius, writing in the closing years of the first century B.C., only a very short time before the establishment of the Augustan municipality

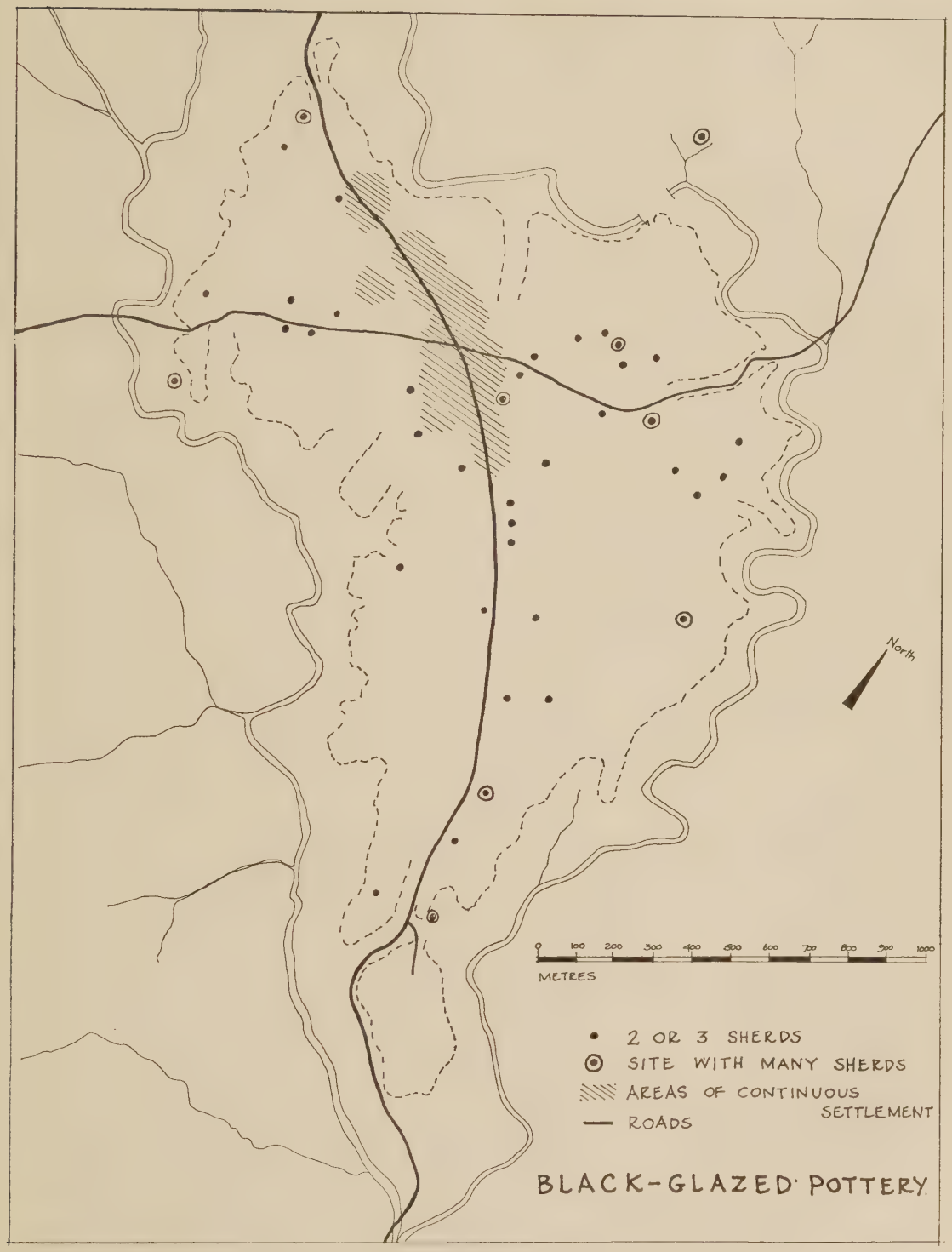


FIG. 15. REPUBLICAN VEII: DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK-GLAZED POTTERY

on the site of the ancient town; and it is the conventional reading of the history of Veii that the four hundred odd years intervening between the sack of the town in 396 B.C. and the foundation of the *Municipium Augustum Veiens* were years of abandonment and desolation. This view has been challenged recently by Dr. Maria Santangelo in her publication[1] of two small jugs of the third century B.C. with archaic latin dedicatory inscriptions, the one from the Portonaccio cemetery, inscribed *L(ucius) Tolonio(s) ded(et) Menerva(e)*, the other from the Campetti votive deposit *Caere* (or *Crere*) *L(ucius) Tolonio(s) d(edet)*. These two dedications are evidence not only of the survival of at least two of the sanctuaries, but also of the continuing residence at or near Veii of a descendent of the Velthur Tulumne who dedicated a bucchero cup in the same Portonaccio sanctuary three centuries earlier (*Not. Scav.*, 1930, pp. 341–343), and of the Lars Tolumnius who was killed in battle and whose armour hung, for all to see, in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius (Prop. *loc. cit.*). While not excluding the possibility that the words of Propertius represent a rhetorical attitude rather than a precise statement of contemporary fact, Dr. Santangelo (*loc. cit.*, p. 463) is of the opinion that there probably was a break, but that it came, not at the beginning of the fourth century, but as the result of some nameless catastrophe at the end of the third: 'Veji, oltre le rovine dovute alla conquista del dittatore Camillo, ha avuto una seconda catastrofe che allo stato attuale delle mie indagini sembra sia porre alla fine del III secolo.'

Whether or not one agrees with the idea of some catastrophic event at the end of the third century, there can be no doubt whatever that the basic contention is sound. If Florus, writing with the small but flourishing Roman municipality before him, could remark (I. vi. 11): 'Hoc tunc Veii fuere. Nunc fuisse quis meminit? Quae reliquiae? Quod vestigium? Laborat annalium fides, ut Veios fuisse,' then scholarly research is wasted on the enquiry whether a century and a half earlier, flocks might or might not have been found pasturing within the circuit of the ancient walls. The words of Propertius are a lament on the transitoriness of human greatness, not a statement of observed fact. He was writing poetry, not a guide-book.

What in fact do we know about Veii during the last four centuries B.C.? In the first place it must be noted that the literary record of the events following the capture of the town by Camillus is of very little relevance to the question whether any substantial nucleus of the town continued to exist. That Roman troops took refuge here after the battle of the Allia (Diod. 14. 115. 2), that many Romans are said to have migrated here after the sack of Rome by the Gauls (Liv. VI. 5. 8), and that there was even talk of abandoning Rome altogether in favour of Veii (Liv. V. 50. 8), proves no more than what we know already, namely that Veii was a fine, well-defended site, and that memories of its all-but successful resistence to Rome were still strong. That there were Veientines as well as Faliscans and Capenates who received the citizenship when the four tribes of Stellatina, Tromantina, Sabatina and Arniensis were created (Liv. VI.4.4, *cf.* 5.8) tells us nothing about the city itself, only that, as one might have expected, there were still many of the old inhabitants residing within the limits of the Ager Veientanus. The literary record is little help.

[1] *Rend. Acc. Linc.*, n.s. iii, 1948, pp. 454–464.

It is to the evidence of archaeology that one must turn for some more precise indication of what happened within the circuit of the city during the four centuries that elapsed between the capture of the Etruscan city by Camillus and the constitution of the *Municipium Augustum Veiens*.

The most explicit evidence is that which comes from the sanctuaries, where it is quite clear that there was a continuity of cult, albeit probably on a dwindling scale, for several centuries after 396 B.C. Pending the fuller study promised by Dr. Santangelo on the basis of her own researches at Portonaccio and elsewhere, one must be content to note that the Portonaccio sanctuary and the Campetti and the Piazza d'Armi votive deposits have all yielded substantial quantities of material of Hellenistic date; and that the dump of altars and other material found beside the road near the Capena gate is evidence of yet another shrine of the Republican period. Only on the Piazza d'Armi itself does there seem to have been any real break, a fact that is not without interest when one recalls that it was the cult image of Juno Regina (*interpretatio romana*; v. Silvio Ferri, *Archeologia Classica*, vi, 1954, p. 120) that was carried off to Rome (Liv. V.22) and that her temple is said to have stood within the citadel of Veii (*ibid.*, 21.10: *aedem Iunonis, quae in Veientana arce erat*). With this exception, all the known Etruscan sanctuaries at Veii seem to have continued to be frequented in Republican times. There is, on the other hand, nothing at present to indicate that any of them lasted on into the Empire. Whether this is in fact the case, and whether, if so, it represents anything more specific than a gradual decay of the old local traditions in the face of new fashions and beliefs imported from the capital, we shall not know for certain until a great deal more has been learned about the internal topography of the Roman city and, in particular, until some selected areas within the city have been carefully excavated with this problem in mind. About domestic occupation we are at present even less well informed. On the other hand, at least two of the Etruscan cemeteries, those of Casalaccio and of Macchia della Comunità, have yielded tombs of Hellenistic date.

Pending further excavation, speculation may seem hazardous. There is, however, one important source of evidence that has not hitherto been taken into consideration, and that is the knowledge that can be acquired by systematic surface observation and from the study of the historical topography of the area as a whole. A fact that is easily overlooked by those familiar with the later pattern of settlement in the area north of Rome is that for some two centuries after the capture of Veii the main road from Rome to Nepi, Sutri and the western Ager Faliscus passed right across the site of the Etruscan city. This was the 'Via Veientana' and its onward continuation, the 'Via Nepetina' (p. 4); and upon it, at Veii, converged the whole network of roads of which Etruscan Veii had been the centre. It is easy enough to destroy the buildings of a city. Its system of communications, once established, is another matter. It was almost inevitable that, however total the initial destruction of the city, life should soon have begun to trickle back to what was still the natural centre of the whole area south of the Monti Sabatini. By the time the Via Cassia was laid out, probably early in the second century, such new settlement would have had plenty of time to take firm root.

That this, or something very like it, is the story of post-Etruscan Veii finds valuable confirmation in the distribution (fig. 15) of the black-glazed wares characteristic

of this period. The material recorded on this map comes almost entirely from surface finds, which show an area of intensive occupation in what had been the centre of the Etruscan city and, radiating out from this nucleus, lesser concentrations along the four roads that were to constitute the framework of the Roman city: the Via Veientana and the Via Nepetina; the old road to the south-west across the head of the falls, which after the construction of the Via Cassia took on a new importance as the most direct route to Rome; and the road down to the Capena gate and so out into the rich agricultural area north and north-east of the city, many parts of which we know to have been intensively settled in Republican times. This is a far cry from the conventional picture of romantic desolation. Veii the great Etruscan city and rival of Rome was no more. In its place we have a busy little market town, situated at a cross-roads on what, during the fourth and third centuries B.C., was one of the main roads up into south and central Etruria and western Umbria.

Sanctuaries.—For the evidence of the survival of Etruscan sanctuaries into Hellenistic times, see as follows:

Portonaccio M. Santangelo, *Rend. Acc. Linc.*, n.s. iii, 1948, pp. 454–464, and refs. *ad loc.*
Campetti M. Pallottino, *Le Arti*, i, 1938–1939, p. 403; also Santangelo, *loc. cit.*
Piazza d'Armi (deposit of terracottas) *Not. Scav.*, 1889, p. 65.
Group of five Republican altars found redeposited near the Capena Gate, *Not. Scav.*, 1922, pp. 386–389; and below, p. 86.

Cemeteries.—For tombs of the Hellenistic period, see above *s.v.* Casalaccio (p. 43) and Macchia della Comunità (p. 43); and below, in connection with the cemeteries outside the Vignacce postern (p. 73) and the North-east Gate (p. 75). Also perhaps Monte Michele (p. 46).

Black-glazed pottery.—The pottery of which fig. 15 presents a distribution map consists almost entirely of sherds found over a period of several years of systematic observation after the autumn ploughing. Although some of it could be seen at the time to have been associated with the remains of specific buildings ploughed out at the same time, none of it was in any close archaeological context, and since a great deal of it is manifestly of local manufacture it is very hard to date with precision. Miss Doris Taylor, who kindly examined the whole series, reports as follows:

> 'The most important observation on the pottery from this area (*sc.* Veii and several neighbouring sites within the Ager Veientanus) is the similarity of the forms to some of the oldest ones in Deposit A of Cosa. Of this lot I wrote (*Cosa*, p. 189): "The oldest, which does not appear in later deposits, consists of a great variety of forms from a number of workshops. Some of the fragments represent the last stages of fourth and third century forms, *e.g.* fish plates and cantharoi, and decorative devices such as ribbing and paint superposed on the glaze. Most of the parallels for these pieces seem to come from sites in southern Etruria and Latium. The great number of workshops represented and the small number of pieces from any one shop argue against a mass importation from the south and suggest that this group was brought to the colony by chance visitors or new colonists. It may have been the household equipment of the new colonists who came in 197 B.C. (Liv. 33. 24. 8–9)."
>
> The pottery of the Ager Veientanus, however, shows more uniformity in fabric than that of Cosa's deposit A. The most common form in the material from Veii is the bowl with incurving rim. This, too, is a close parallel to the bowls of Deposit A.
>
> The finds of Veii include a few—but very few—pieces which are clearly Lamboglia's Ceramica Campana A and B. These are important bits of evidence for the distribution of these fabrics. The full forms, unfortunately, are not recognisable.'

The fabric of the majority of the sherds is one with which Miss Taylor was not previously familiar but which she has since recognised in a number of other sites in the area of Veii and Capena. It presumably represents the output of the local kilns along the Tiber valley, notably from the Capena district and perhaps also from Falerii.

Miss Taylor's observations on the forms most commonly represented might at first sight be taken to confirm the hypothesis (p. 54) of a disaster at the end of the third century, or soon afterwards, followed by an interval during which the site was virtually abandoned. Against this, however, it must be observed that the phenomenon is by no means limited to Veii itself. There is, moreover, a simple alternative explanation. As Miss Taylor has since pointed out to the writer in conversation,

it is not an absolute date but a *terminus post quem* that is offered by the parallels with Cosa. A study of the fabrics circulating at Cosa and at Veii confirms what is on every other ground likely, namely that, of the two cities, Cosa was in far closer contact with the main centres of production of such wares. It would not have been the first time that the potteries of the Tiber valley borrowed their ideas from the cities of the coast and continued to use them long after they had passed out of fashion in more sophisticated centres. Something of the sort seems to have happened in the seventh to fifth centuries B.C. in the case of bucchero and the various 'imported' painted wares. That the forms characteristic of early second-century Cosa had a far longer life in the potteries of the Tiber valley is a conclusion that seems to be borne out by the widespread nature of the phenomenon elsewhere in the Ager Veientanus; and although, once again, it is excavation alone that can provide a conclusive answer, it may be doubted whether there is any real gap in the sequence of sherds from Veii itself. It seems far more likely that the Republican settlement developed without a break into the Imperial age. The *Municipium Augustum Veiens* was not a new creation; it was the formal recognition of an existing fact.

VI. THE MUNICIPIUM AUGUSTUM VEIENS (fig. 16)

(a) *The sources*

The principal source of our knowledge of Veii during the Imperial age is that contained in the inscriptions found on the site itself and in the immediate neighbourhood, supplemented to some extent by the surviving remains. Veii lay off the main road and, while enjoying a modest prosperity under the early Empire, it never achieved sufficient importance to leave any mark upon the larger historical scene. It is hardly mentioned in the contemporary literature; nor, so far as we know, did any son of Veii ever achieve prominence in the outer world. Almost its only claim to contemporary distinction seems to have lain in the evil reputation of its wine.

Such as it is, the literary and epigraphic evidence is well summarised in the introduction to the section on Veii in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (vol. XI, 1, p. 557) and need not here be repeated in full. It will be sufficient to call attention to a few points that have a particular bearing on the historical topography of the city and on the character and scope of the surviving remains. The references to the relevant sources are given below (p. 60).

To judge from its official title, *Municipium Augustum Veiens*, the city received its new status at the hands of Augustus, at a date which can be established as not later than 1 B.C.; and a conspicuous feature of the epigraphic record is the number of dedications in honour of Tiberius, Claudius and other members of the Julio-Claudian family. Of the fifteen (or eighteen) known imperial dedications, eight (or eleven) belong to this early period; four (or three) are of the second century; and three (or four) only are Severan or later, the latest (which is also the latest recorded inscription from Veii) being an inscription in honour of Constantius, between A.D. 293 and 305. Even allowing for the fact that many of the early texts almost certainly belong to a single group, found together in a building which also contained a quantity of Julio-Claudian statuary, the contrast is striking, and it gains significance when it is compared with the results of the recent excavations at Lucus Feroniae. At Lucus Feroniae there is just the same contrast between a rich series of Julio-Claudian dedications, in this case specifically associated with an imperial shrine opening off the basilica, and a relatively scanty group of later dedications; and the excavation has here been on a sufficient scale to establish that there was very

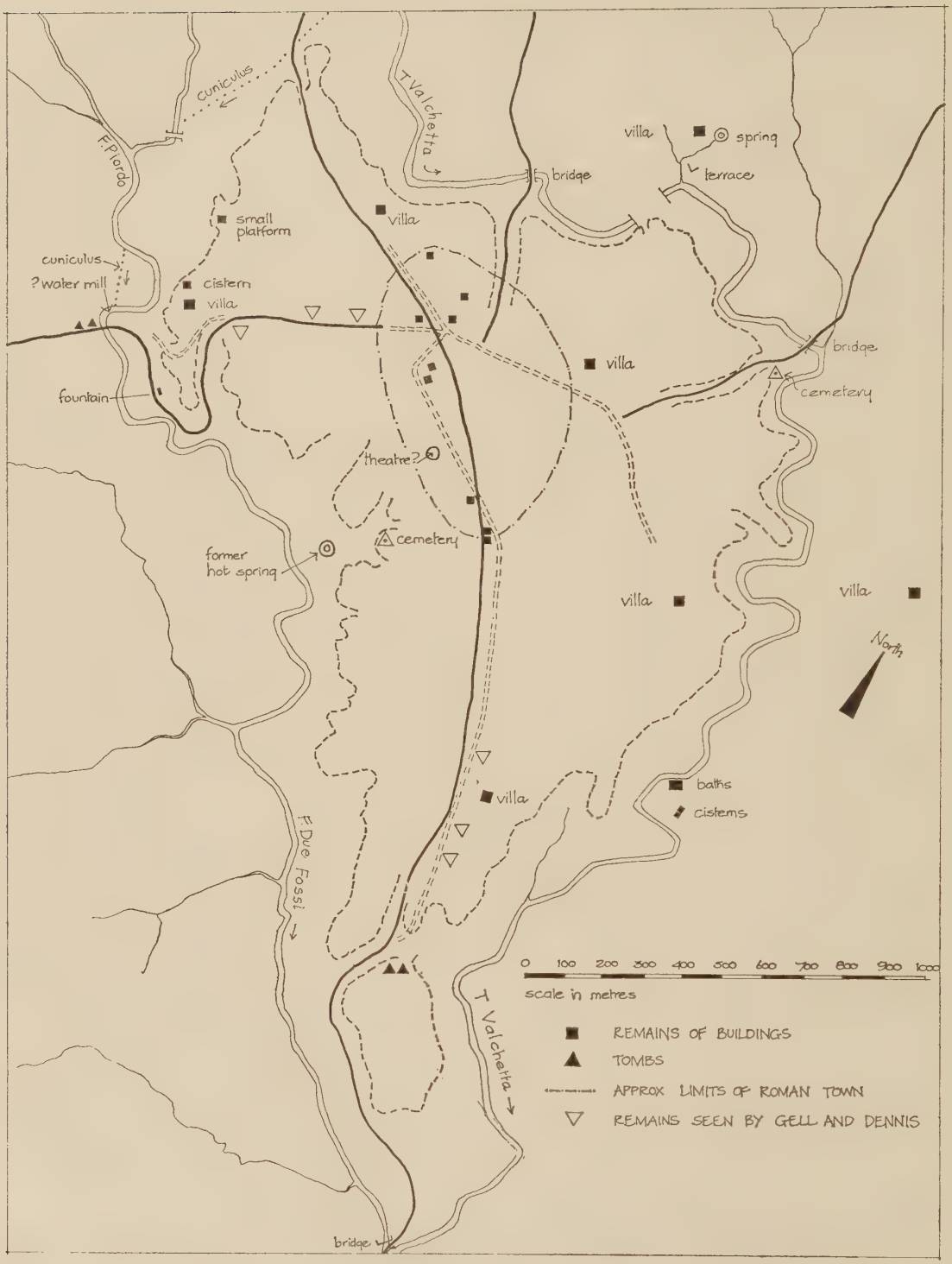


FIG. 16. ROMAN VEII. For the central area, see fig. 18

little public building of importance after the first century A.D. It seems not unreasonable to argue that at Veii, too, after a period of modest prosperity under Augustus and his immediate successors, the history of the town under the later Empire was one of steady decline and early eclipse.

Of the city's municipal institutions, there is one that calls for brief comment—the division of the citizenry into two distinct groups, styling themselves respectively *municipes intramurani* and *municipes extramurani*.[1] This is a grouping that does not seem to have been recorded elsewhere. The common distinction between *municipes* and *incolae* (cited by De Ruggiero, *s.v.* Extramurani) is hardly a valid parallel since, by definition, the *incolae* were not citizens, whereas at Veii both groups are specifically termed *municipes*. A closer analogy, at any rate for the *intramurani*, would seem to be that of the *urbani* or *oppidani*, who figure in the inscriptions of a number of towns and who evidently represent the body of the citizen population actually resident within the walls. The population outside was almost inevitably less closely knit and tends, if at all, to be defined by exclusion. But that it could in favourable circumstances achieve a corporate existence is shown by the example of Pompeii, where the inhabitants of the area of market gardens and villas to the north of the town, outside the Herculaneum Gate, formed a distinct unit, the 'Pagus Augustus Felix Suburbanus,' which elected its own *magistri* and made its own group dedications, within the larger framework of the municipality as a whole.

At Veii the process was evidently carried a stage further, with the formal subdivision of the citizen body of the municipality, the *municipes omnis ordo*, into two distinct bodies of equal status. Of the identity of the *intramurani* there can hardly be any doubt; they were the inhabitants of the urban nucleus established on the site of the ancient city. Who then were the *extramurani*? The most likely explanation would seem to be that they were some body, or bodies, of persons already established within the territory at the time of its incorporation as a *municipium*, and sufficiently influential to have secured specific recognition within the new charter, which would otherwise inevitably have tended to operate in favour of the inhabitants of the urban nucleus. One possibility is that they were the inhabitants of the roadside settlements on the Via Flaminia, at Prima Porta, and at the junction of the Via Clodia and the Via Cassia near La Storta. Another is that they were the numerous late Republican settlers established within the area to the north-east and south-east of the city. We lack the evidence for any firm conclusion. But, whatever the explanation, the fact that there was from the outset an important part of the citizen body that was not resident within the town may well prove to be either a symptom or a cause of the city's early decline and eventual extinction as an effective municipal unit.

The epigraphic evidence for the topography and buildings of the town is very meagre. The 'Porticus Augusta,' of Tiberian date, is no doubt to be associated with the Julio-Claudian inscriptions and statuary found in the same early nineteenth-century excavations. Apart from an interesting record of the recovery and resiting of a statue from a ruined temple of Mars, the only references to temples or shrines are an altar to Victoria Augusta, recording the restoration of an earlier

[1] I owe the substance of these remarks to Miss Joyce Reynolds and Mr. M. W. Frederiksen.

building in A.D. 249, and the mention of a *sacerdos Fortunae Reducis*, who is associated with the *schola* of a *collegium*. There was a theatre, which was apparently the scene of *ludi* as well as of *spectacula*; and there is one mention of public bathing.

In the notes that follow references, unless otherwise stated, are to *CIL*, vol. XI, 1.

For the title *Municipium Augustum Veiens*, see 3797 (dated 1 B.C.), 3805, 3809; also *Municipium Augustum Veios*, 3808.

Julio-Claudian dedications: see 3781–3784, 3786 (Tiberius); 3787–3789 (Drusus and Nero; probably but not certainly from Veii); 3790 (Tiberius and Claudius); 3791–3792 (Claudius, one dated A.D. 46). Julio-Claudian statuary from the site is listed by Canina, pp. 83–86; there were also heads of Vespasian and Julia, w. of Titus. Later imperial dedications are: 3793 (Trajan, A.D. 109; perhaps also 3794); 3795 (Antonine or Severan); 3785 (Septimius Severus); 3780 ('Victoriae Augustae,' restored A.D. 249); and 3796 (Fl. Valerius Constantius, nobilissimus Caesar).

Municipes intramurani, 3797 (1 B.C.), 3799, 3808; *municipes extramurani*, 3798; *municipes omnis ordo*, 3807 (*cf.* 3805, recording a session of the municipal *ordo*, namely the *centumviri*, held at Rome in the temple of Venus Genetrix). The magistrates were II viri (*e.g.* 3807–3808; *cf.* 3780, II viri quinquennales) and two quaestores (3805). There were also *Seviri* and *Augustales*, forming a single freedman college under Augustus but later distinguished as two separate bodies. They appear to have been most active in the earlier period (3782, soon after 3 B.C., *Seviri Augustales*; 3808, A.D. 256, *Seviri et Augustales*; 3809, undated but same person as 3808, *Augustales*; *cf.* also 3798).

Urbani, oppidani: *e.g.* IX, 2473 (Saepinum), 2568 (Bovianum), 2855 (Histonium), 6257 (Aquilonia); X, 5060 (Atina). For the difference between the distinction between *intramurani* and *extramurani* and that between *municipes* and *incolae*, see VIII, 1641 (Sicca Veneria), where those qualifying for a distribution of money are specified as 'municipes item incolae, dumtaxat incolae qui intra continentia coloniae nostrae aedificia morabantur'; this also illustrates the ties of sentiment and interest which gave rise to the former distinction. *Cf.* also IX, 982 (Compsa), a distribution of money to 'populo intra murum morantibus.'

For the Porticus Augusta, see 3784 (A.D. 28). Temple of Mars: 3801, 'statuam ex ruina templi Martis vexatam,' restored probably by one of the signatories of 3805 (A.D. 26). Altar to Victoria Augusta 'restitutae post antiquissimam vetustatem,' 3780 (A.D. 249). Schola Fortunae: 3810, Cn. Caesius Athictus (*c.* A.D. 256, *cf.* 3807) . . . scholam co[llegi . . .] ris Fortunae a sol [o restitutum port]icibus statuis ex [ornavit].

Ludi: 3781 (A.D. 34) and possibly 3782 (Tiberian); *Spectacula*, 3805 (A.D. 26); held apparently in the theatre: 3798, 3807–8 (A.D. 256). 'Balneum cum olio gratuito,' 3811 (*c.* A.D. 256).

For the wines of Veii, see Martial I, 103, 9: 'Veientani bibitur faex crassa rubelli'; *cf.* Persius 5, 147: 'Veientanum rubellum.' *Cf.* also Hor. *Sat.* II, 3, 143; Martial II, 53, 4; III, 49.

(b) *The Roads*

(For further details see pp. 3–20.)

The roads of Veii have already been described in Section II, and it will be sufficient here to recapitulate briefly the evidence for their use in Roman times.

Of the two roads that fork outside the North-west Gate, that leading towards Tarquinia and Vulci, even if it did not go out of use immediately after the destruction of Etruscan Veii, was certainly superseded as a long-distance route by the construction of the Via Clodia, probably in the later third century B.C. Thereafter it can have served only for local traffic and, except as a short-cut to the Via Cassia, it may well have passed out of use altogether. The right-hand branch, on the other hand, remained for two centuries the chief road to the north, leading to the important frontier colonies of Sutrium and Nepet and, after the destruction of Falerii Veteres in 241 B.C., northwards into southern Umbria. It was perhaps on this latter occasion that it was paved, and it was not until the construction of the Via Cassia that it lost much of its importance. The stretch from Pisciacavallo to Baccano was absorbed into the new road; that onwards from Baccano became the Via Amerina, one of the three or four secondary roads within the area that were sufficiently important to be

maintained at public expense; while the first stretch, from Veii to Pisciacavallo, henceforward served only the local traffic travelling northwards from the city to join the Via Cassia.

For the relation of the Via Cassia to this earlier road, see also *JRS*, xlvii, 1957, pp. 139–143, especially pl. I, which illustrates the junction of the two at Pisciacavallo.

The road to Caere is another road that must have lost much of its importance with the fall of Etruscan Veii. The part of it that lay beyond Careiae, near the modern Santa Maria di Galeria, did remain in use and was later paved as a *diverticulum* of the Via Clodia; but the construction of the Clodia, followed by that of the Cassia, made nonsense of the preexisting road-system in the area immediately to the west of Veii. The only road on this side which retained, and indeed increased, its importance was the first stretch of the Portonaccio road, which now became the main exit from the town towards the Via Cassia, superseding the old Via Veientana as the quickest and easiest carriage-road to Rome, as well as providing access to the whole belt of country served by the Via Clodia. Although it was not paved until quite a late date, the distribution of black-glazed pottery within the city and the tombs on the site of the modern Isola Farnese cemetery are evidence of its continuous use from Republican times onwards. At some time within the Roman period it was diverted from the old gate above the present mill to the easier line that runs across the site of the Portonaccio sanctuary. A peculiarity of this road (pl. VII, *b*) is that the *selce* paving blocks are reused and were laid from the two edges, leaving a ragged unpaved gap down the middle.

That the track served by the Valle la Fata Gate remained in use in Roman times is shown by the Roman remains along the line of it; but neither the exit from Veii nor the track up the far side of the valley were ever adapted for wheeled traffic, and it must increasingly have come to be used by local traffic from the Cassia rather than from Veii itself. The next road of importance was that leading from the South-east Gate, the so-called 'Via Veientana.' The history of this in Roman times is the same as that of its onward extension the 'Via Nepetina.' After two centuries as the main road linking Rome with Nepet, Sutrium and the Ager Faliscus, with the construction of the Via Cassia it lost its early importance and became a local road, serving the thickly populated, small-farming district that lay between Rome and Veii.

For the Via Veientana, see *PBSR*, xxiii, 1955, pp. 45–58. Roman sites along the line of the old track across the Tenuta del Pino include a large villa at 841538 and a pottery-kiln at 841537.

Another area that was densely settled in Roman times was that which lay to the north-east of the town, and there is no reason to believe that there was ever any interruption in the use of the roads serving this area. This is confirmed both by the distribution of the black-glazed wares within the city and by the concentration of cinerary loculi immediately outside the old North-east Gate; and one of the roads from this gate, that leading in the direction of Monte Aguzzo, had sufficient local importance to be paved at some unspecified date within the Roman period. For cross-country traffic, on the other hand, towards Capena and northwards along the Via Flaminia, the route seems to have shifted in Roman times to the Formello Gate, following a line that passes just west of the medieval village of Formello, crosses the bed of the volcanic crater beyond in a generally north-easterly direction, and then

runs eastwards along the watershed that carries the modern road from Campagnano to join the Via Flaminia near Morlupo. Although the surviving traces of Roman paving along the first stretch of this road are scanty (having presumably served at all periods for the repair of the Formello road and the buildings along it), there are long, well-preserved stretches of paving beyond Formello.

Both of these paved roads were carried across the Valchetta on bridges. Of these, the north abutment of that outside the North-east Gate (fig. 17, pl. XVI, *a*) is well preserved and is described below. That opposite the Formello Gate is concealed by roots and dense undergrowth, but enough of the north abutment can be seen in the river bank to show that it incorporates brickwork and is presumably of fairly late date.

In addition to these two roads, there were the other Etruscan roads radiating from the North-east Gate, most of which no doubt continued to carry local farm-traffic; and there must have been lesser tracks or paths leading to outlying Roman buildings such as the 'Bagni della Regina' and the large villa opposite the Ponte Sodo.

The surviving masonry of the bridge opposite the North-east Gate was cleared and surveyed in the summer of 1959 under the direction of Mr. John Crawley. The width is 7·30 m. and the surviving height about 2·50 m. Its general character will be evident from the photograph (pl. XVI, *a*) and from the plan and elevations (fig. 17), which are the work, respectively, of Mr. and of Mrs. Michael Ballance. It consists of squared tufa masonry laid with a thin film of lime-mortar. There is no regular bond, but the lowest complete course and the top surviving course are built entirely of headers. For the greater part of the length the lower of these two header courses rests on the natural rock, which has been cut back to the same vertical plane and scored with shallow lines to simulate masonry.

The most unusual feature is the pair of projecting 'buttresses' at either end. The present appearance of these is rather deceptive, since they were not very securely bonded into the main structure and all those blocks that were not actually tied into the main wall-face have long ago been washed away. Originally they were plain rectangular piers, projecting some 60 cm. and measuring about 1·50 m. across. Their purpose is far from clear. Unfortunately the corresponding south abutment has been completely destroyed by the stream, together with part of the embankment behind it, and there is no means of judging the span of the original opening. Unless, however, it was quite disproportionately narrow, the relative height of the roadway (the paving of the south approach is largely preserved, though buried) makes it very doubtful whether it can ever have carried an arch. This was probably a timber-bridge on stone piers, and if so the projecting feature may have been introduced to lessen the span of the main beams supporting the roadway. The irregular recess near the middle of the surviving wall-face is a secondary feature, cut presumably to house the end of a timber inserted to buttress the structure of the roadway above.

Some of the undergrowth concealing the remains of the bridge opposite the Formello Gate was washed clear by the stream during 1960, exposing a section right across the north abutment. This is 3·15 m. wide, faced on either side with large tufa blocks (55–60 cm. square; in one case certainly re-used) and packed in the middle with a fill of rubble and large boulders. The brickwork lies beneath the central fill and is presumably a part of the original construction.

(c) *The Town*

For the topography of the interior of the Roman town we are almost entirely dependent on the results of surface observation. The substantial excavations undertaken in 1812 and the years following were undertaken solely in order to find collector's pieces; no plans were made and the remains of the ancient buildings were disregarded except as a source of fine marble. There have since then been a few smaller excavations by Lanciani and others; but, except as an indication of the areas where there was ancient settlement, these revealed little of topographical importance.

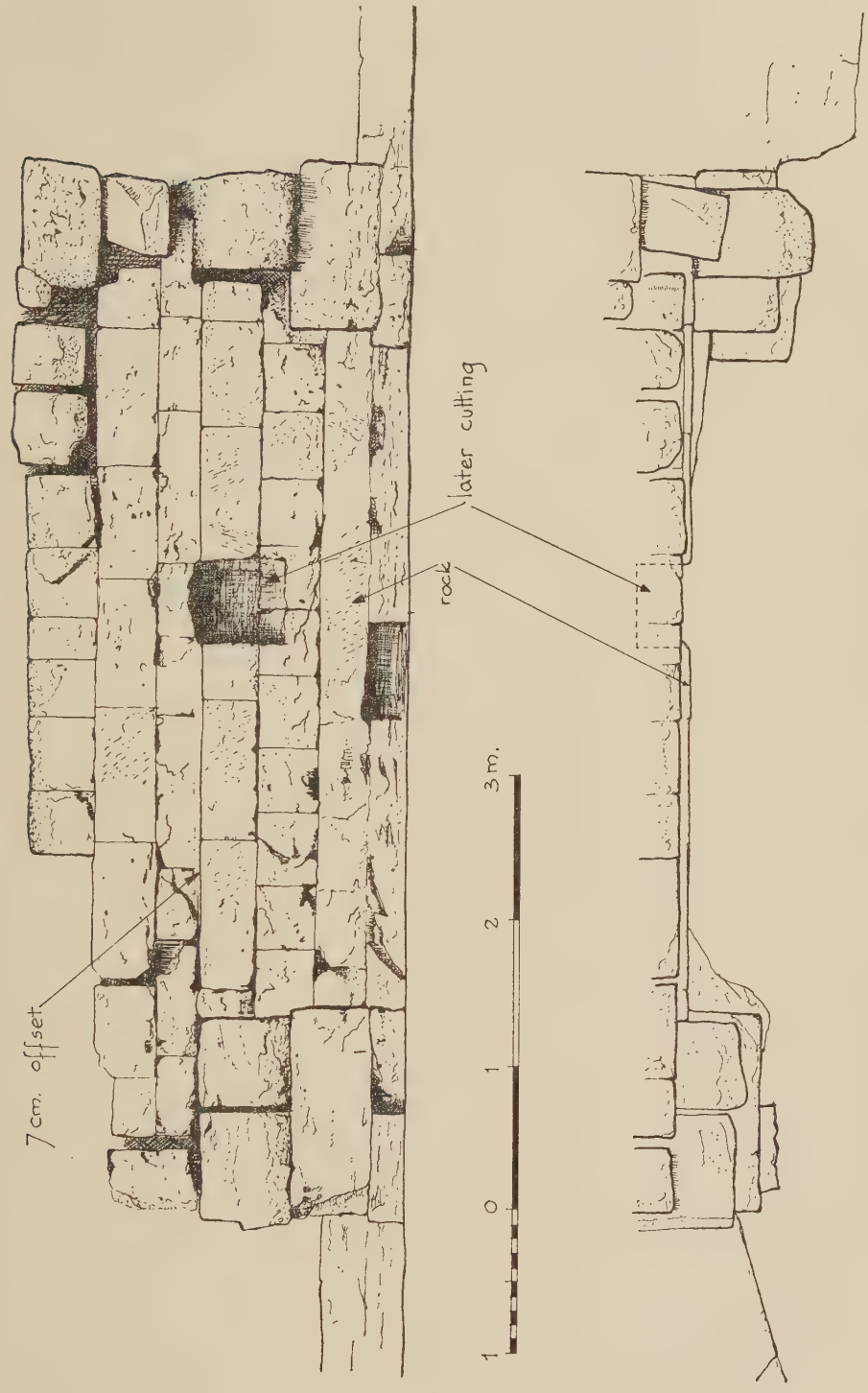


Fig. 17. Roman Bridge opposite the North-east Gate: the surviving North-east Abutment (*cf.* pl. XVI, *a*)

The remains that are (or were until recently) visible on the surface are rather more helpful. But even they do little more than indicate the general outlines of the Roman city; they tell us little or nothing of its detailed lay-out or of the individual buildings within it.

The centre of gravity, as one might expect, remained where it had been in Republican, and probably before that also in Etruscan, times. This much at any rate is clear from the nineteenth-century excavations, which were directed to the area immediately to the east and south-east of the track-junction at the centre of the western part of the plateau. This was already the centre of the road-system within the plateau, and there were two features in particular that lent themselves to formal development: the terrace of level ground that stretches south-eastwards from the modern track-junction, along and for a short distance to the south of the actual road; and the platform of higher ground to the north of it, which is now enclosed and planted with fruit-trees, but which must formerly have dominated the whole plateau. Two sets of fine marble columns were found here in 1812, to the south of the road, and the colossal statue of Tiberius, together with a number of other Julio-Claudian pieces, just to the north of it, either on the higher ground or else at the foot of the slope. In view of the general poverty of the site, the columns must mark the site of some important public building, very possibly the forum, and the statuary that of a building in some way associated with the imperial cult. Northwards again, within the Macchia Grande, there are records of the partial clearance of Roman buildings; and here, or hereabouts, Gerhard in 1831 noted a number of architectural fragments of good quality.

The centre of the town, together with such monumental buildings as there were, evidently occupied the area that lies immediately to the south-east of the present track-junction. Of the buildings that stood on the higher ground there is now probably very little that has survived the ravages of cultivation. Along the line of the axial road, however, where there is a thicker covering of humus, the plough still reveals an area of almost continuous building and occupation debris, stretching some 300–400 m. south-eastwards from the modern track-junction and a much shorter distance to the north and west. South of the hedge that borders the present track (which since 1948 has been diverted from the ancient line, reverting to that of the former 'Via delle Vignacce' and making a sharp angle round the edge of the cultivation) the fields are still under grass. But sherds of all periods are plentiful, and a large hollow perhaps marks the site of the theatre referred to in the inscriptions.

It is particularly unfortunate that the whereabouts of the columbarium discovered in the excavations of 1812–1817 is not precisely recorded, since it would have furnished valuable evidence of the formal extent of the Roman city in at least one direction. The references to it by the nineteenth-century antiquaries and its location on their maps are confused and at times contradictory; but it is always referred to in connection with the presumed site of the Forum or of other monuments nearby. Even allowing for an element of schematization in its location on Gell's map, it must have been surprisingly near to the centre of the city, and it indicates the very modest size of the urban nucleus proper.

Beyond the limits of the central area the occupation debris thins out rapidly except along the axial road, where there was evidently a considerable suburban

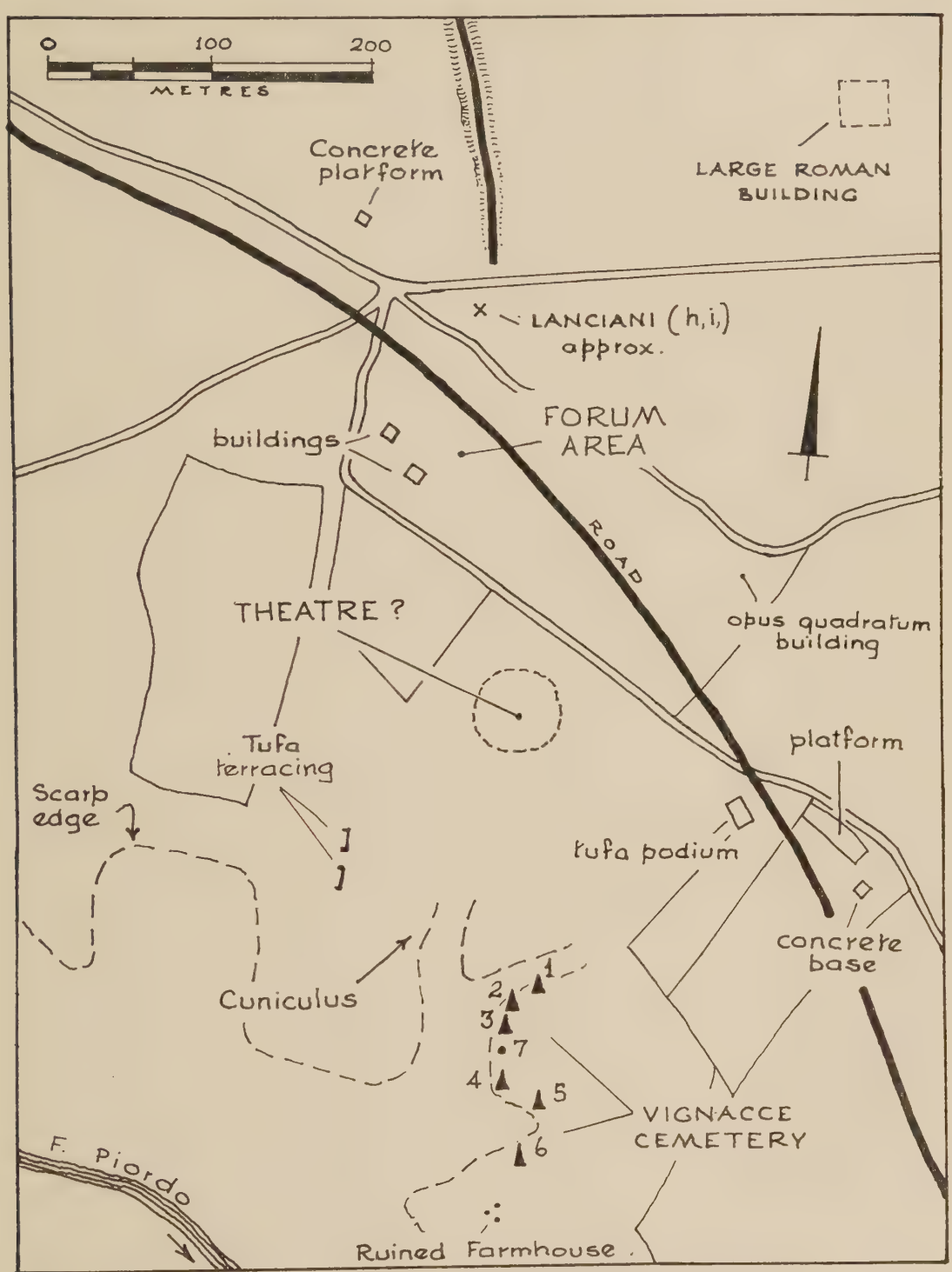


FIG. 18. THE CENTRE OF ROMAN VEII

spread in both directions, and to a lesser extent along the other roads that radiate from the city-centre. Towards the North-west Gate this is almost continuous with what appears to be the remains of a large and luxurious suburban villa. Other villas stood isolated here and there round the edges of the plateau and just beyond it—on the cliffs overlooking the mill-stream; on the summit of the ridge east of the Casale Cabrioli; on the prominent knoll that lies just to the north of the axial road where it starts to drop towards the Piazza d'Armi; just outside the Ponte Sodo; on the Vaccherecia plateau; and a short distance beyond the North-west Gate, beside the Nepi road. All of these villas were already in existence in the late Republic, and they continued to flourish well into the Imperial age.

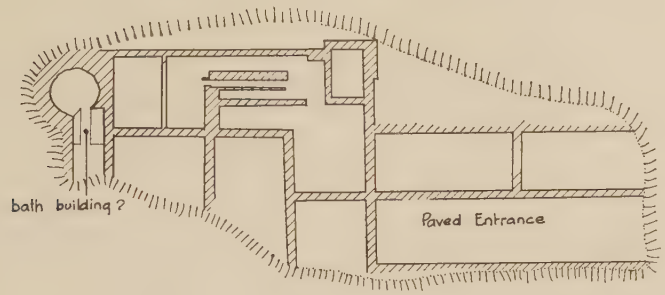
The centre of the town and the excavations of 1812–1817.—Of the excavations of 1812–1817, Canina writes (p. 86) '. . . disgraziatamente in questi scavi non si ebbe altro scopo che quello di rinvenire oggetti di arte scolpita, i quali furono trasportati in Roma senza neppure conservare una memoria dei luoghi precisi in cui esistevano.' It is hardly surprising, therefore, that there should be some imprecision in the later accounts concerning the exact findspots of the various objects, the only record having been the memories of the individuals who conducted Gell, Gerhard, Dennis and Canina round the site some 20 or 30 years after the event. The record is further complicated by slight discrepancies between the several published maps, in particular those of Gell, who was the more skilled cartographer, and of Canina, who had a more intimate knowledge of the site, having directed trial excavations within the south-western part of the Macchia Grande. The principal track in use when these maps were made (and the only one shown by Canina) was the 'Via delle Vignacce,' leading from Isola Farnese to the centre of the plateau by way of the water-mill. For most of the way this followed exactly the same line as the present track; but instead of joining the ancient axial road at the present track-junction, it swung right about 150 m. short of it along the southern edge of the central cultivated area (which corresponds with one of the main divisions of the old 'Vignacce'), joining the axial road some 300 m. to the south-east. It was not until later in the century that the North-west Gate was reopened and the line of the ancient road reactivated right across the plateau, cutting obliquely across the central cultivated area. Since then the road from the North-west Gate has been the main approach to the farms and fields on the plateau. When, however, after the Second World War, the central area was once more brought into cultivation, the road was again diverted round it, making a sharp dog-leg to the right to rejoin the old Via delle Vignacce.

These facts explain the recent topography of the central area of the Roman city. If one makes allowance for the shifts in the course of the modern track, the find-spot of the Julio-Claudian statues can be located with some confidence as being just within or just beyond the north-eastern limits of the central field, either on the edge of the higher ground or else (and, considering the bulk of some of the pieces, this is perhaps more likely) at the foot of the slopes immediately to the north of the axial road. There is less certainty about the twelve Ionic columns. Canina shows them as having been found to the south of the Via delle Vignacce, Gell and Gerhard to the north. On the ground the latter seems the more plausible site for a public building. The only remains still upstanding within the area are the concrete cores of two small structures near the north-west edge of the central field. The northernmost of these measures 6·60 m. from north-west to south-east by a little more than 10 m. from north-east to south-west, and it was vaulted, the interior now being filled with brambles and inaccessible; the concrete consists of regular, flattish chunks of brown tufa set in a brown mortar, and it was faced with a tufa reticulate (possibly with brick quoins). The other seems to have been roughly squared (6·80 m. from north-east to south-west); it was faced externally with tufa blocks, the standing structure being a relatively thin, inner skin, the concrete of which is made up of *selce* and a little travertine set in a grey mortar containing substantial lumps of brown tufa. There are the massive footings of a large building of tufa blocks in the plough near the east corner of the same field.

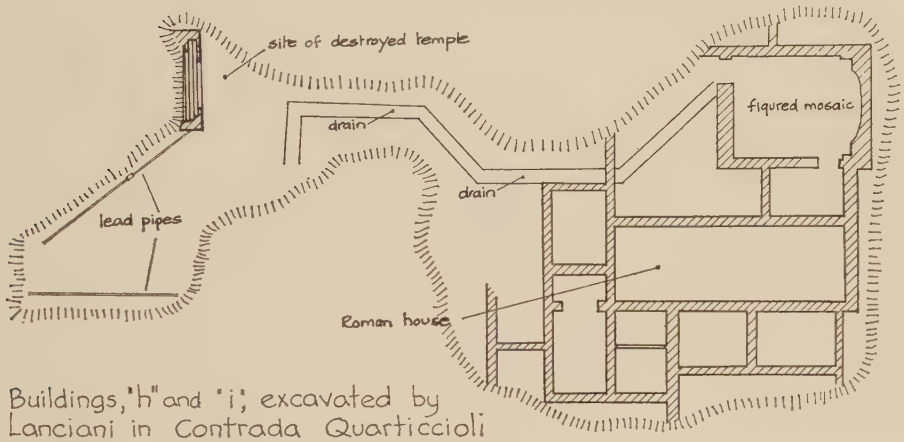
For the twelve Ionic columns, see Canina, p. 85, no. 130, and p. 87; pl. XLI. They are of Luna marble (length 5·35 m.), deeply fluted, with bases and Ionic capitals, and they now stand in the Piazza Colonna in Rome, along the façade of the former General Post Office. The inscription reads:

> GREGORIVS XV PONTIF. MAXIM. ANNO M. DCCCXXXVIII FRONTEM AEDIFICI EXORNANDAM PORTICVM VEIORVM COLVMNIS INSIGNEM ADSTRVENDAM CVRAVIT

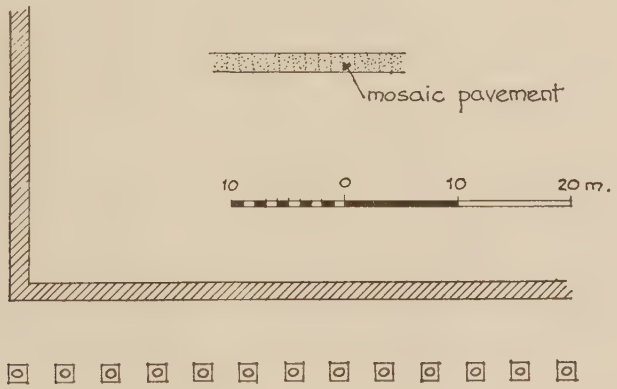
With them were found twelve smaller columns of *bigio* (length 3 m.) with composite capitals (*ibid.*, no. 131 and p. 88), which were reused in the Chapel of the Sacrament in the basilica of S. Paolo.

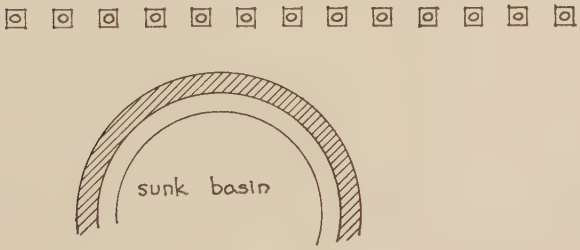


a. Roman house, "g", excavated by Lanciani beside the road to the North-west gate



b. Buildings, "h" and "i", excavated by Lanciani in Contrada Quarticcioli





c. Roman building excavated by Lanciani near the Piazza d'Armi

FIG. 19. ROMAN BUILDINGS EXCAVATED BY LANCIANI

For the other finds of architectural members, sculpture and inscriptions made during the excavations of 1812–1817, see Canina, pp. 83–86, giving a numbered check list of all the more important pieces. The majority of these passed to the Vatican in 1824. The seated statue of Tiberius and the colossal heads of Augustus and Tiberius are now in the Museo Chiaramonti (Amelung, 1, nos. 399–401, pl. 60); most of the rest are now in the Lateran Museum.

Other finds within the probable area of the Roman town.—Lanciani (*Not. Scav.* 1889, pp. 62–63) records the excavation in Contrada Quarticcioli (*i.e.* on the high ground between Le Vignacce and the Macchia Grande) of a monumental flight of seven marble steps, facing west, perhaps from a destroyed temple; also of a winding *cuniculus*, partly rock-cut, partly built, and covered with tiles laid *a cappuccina*. Immediately to the east of it (*ibid.* p. 158) a Roman building with the remains of two mosaics, one black and white geometric, the other polychrome, depicting the embarkation of an elephant. See fig. 19, after Lanciani's notes (copy by Stefani); the buildings are 'h' and 'i' respectively on Lanciani's own unpublished M.S. map. Nearby Stefani saw traces of trenches on either side of the track leading to the Casale Cabrioli, which he identified as those in which Canina (p. 86) found the remains of Roman buildings and a bas-relief of a Victory in Luna marble, slightly less than life-size, presumably from a public building.

Cf. also, Gerhard, *ap.* Gell, p. 26, item *s* (Appendix I, *a*, p. 84) : a heap of remains, including 'diversi rilevanti avanzi di capitelli d'ordine ionico ed altri frammenti architettonici d'una buona scultura romana'; and L. Biondi in *Dissertazioni della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, series 1, vol. IX, pp. 205–213 (a marble bas-relief). The inscription recorded in Appendix II, no. 5, comes from the same general area, from the north corner of the large ploughed field that occupies the whole of the central valley of the plateau.

That the south-eastern end of the Contrada Campetti was heavily built over in Roman times is evident from the quantity of debris that is brought up each autumn by the plough (for the approximate limits of this area, see fig. 16). Immediately to the north of the track there is still (1960) a small stretch of concrete flooring in position; and traces of another building, with brick wall and *opus spicatum* paving, were observed in 1959 a short distance to the north, on the brow of the plateau. Further down the same slopes Pallottino in 1939 found Roman structures overlying the earlier buildings associated with the Campetti votive deposit (*Le Arti*, i, 1938–1939, pp. 402–403). Just south of the road, near the track-junction, a vaulted, bramble-filled cavity was visible until a few years ago, when it was broken open and filled in.

For the columbarium excavated in 1812–1817 (to be carefully distinguished from the better-known site, 'il Colombario,' immediately outside the North-east Gate) the most explicit account is that of Gerhard, quoted in Appendix I, p. 84. He had seen it himself, and he found it natural to refer to it in relation to the presumed site of the Forum (*u*) and the pile of architectural fragments that lay to the north of it (*s*). Gell had not seen it and its exact location on his map is very suspect. The two most likely sites are west of the modern track-junction (was it perhaps the vaulted cavity visible here until a few years ago ?) or beside the axial road immediately to the south-east of the town proper. It is said when first opened to have contained fine stuccoes and paintings, but was already utterly ruined by the time of the nineteenth-century antiquaries.

South of the Via delle Vignacce the fields round the upper part of the Vignacce valley are still under grass, and the only visible remains are a *cuniculus* on the western slopes, probably the drain of a destroyed Roman building, and a deep artificial hollow near the head of the valley, on the east side. Stefani believed the latter to be a tufa-quarry; but the shape is surprisingly regular, and beside it are parts of two large travertine brackets (1·18 × 0·74 × ? m.), with transverse, rectangular sockets (20 × 27 cm.) at one end, evidently from some monumental building. It is not impossible that this is the site of the theatre referred to in the inscriptions.

The roadside suburbs.—Along both sides of the road leading to the North-west Gate there is an almost continuous spread of Roman building debris for a distance of some 350 m., beyond which it abruptly ceases. At this point the plough has in recent years brought up the remains of a large and, for the district, unusually opulent Roman villa. This is the building partially excavated by Lanciani (*Not. Scav.*, 1889, p. 31; 'g' on his unpublished MS. map). His plan (here fig. 19, after Stefani) shows a building of some elaboration, served by a side road paved with *selce* blocks; the circular room at the north (?) corner appears to have had a stoke-hole and hypocaust. Lanciani's finds included brick-stamps and several pieces of small domestic statuary. The remains recently exposed by ploughing include large tufa blocks and *opus reticulatum*; figured wall-plaster; fragments of black and white mosaic; *opus spicatum*; quantities of coloured marble; coloured glass tesserae; the flue-tiles and other debris of a bath building. In addition to terra sigillata and red polished wares, there is a quantity of black-glazed ware.

Gell and Dennis both mark the remains of several buildings along the line of the road leading from the centre of the town across Portonaccio towards the Via Cassia. Nothing of these now survives, other than a generalized scatter of building material.

Along the road leading to the South-east Gate there are the surviving traces of several buildings and records of others, now destroyed. Three of these are located within the area of building debris that stretches for several hundred metres beyond the presumed limits of the town itself. These are:

848559. 20–30 m. to the south of the road, lying obliquely across the line of a hedge: the remains of an upstanding platform of tufa blocks (the podium of a small temple?).

849559. Immediately to the south of the present track, between it and the ancient road, which here diverged a short distance to the right: a substantial terrace, the south-east end of which can be seen to be built over a concrete-vaulted chamber, or chambers, faced internally with brick.

849558. 30 m. south-east of the end of the terrace, a small square base of selce concrete. The core of a roadside mausoleum?

852(5)552(5). Lanciani (*Not. Scav.*, 1889, p. 63; 'm' on his unpublished MS. map) partially cleared a large Roman building on the south-west slopes of the prominent knoll that overlooks the road from the north at the point where the plateau starts to drop sharply towards the Piazza d'Armi. This had been the site of an Etruscan building, of which the platform was now reused. On top of it Lanciani exposed a white mosaic with a black meander-pattern border and, along the side of it running parallel with the street, a portico of brick columns (diam. 68 cm. and stucco-faced; spaced at 4 m. intervals); in front of the portico was a large circular water-tank. See fig. 19, *a*, after Lanciani's very summary published plan. The remains of the building have been largely destroyed in recent years, revealing the debris of black and white mosaics of both fine and coarse quality; several stretches of *opus spicatum*; coloured marble and wall-plaster; a cornice block of Luna marble; and a wide range of Roman pottery; including black-glazed wares. Rather than a public building, as Lanciani thought, this was probably a private villa of some wealth and architectural pretension.

Bath-building, site unspecified.—Studi Etruschi, xv, 1941, p. 275, records the discovery of several rooms of a bath building, including the black and white mosaic portraying a marine monster which is now in the Nymphaeum of the Villa Giulia.

Outlying villas.—In addition to the buildings already described, there are the remains of several other villas, which between them account for most of the area of the plateau that was not taken up by the town proper, as well as for the most readily accessible of the adjoining fields. These are:

839558. On the cliffs overlooking the water-mill, a villa with well-preserved cisterns. Of the villa itself little can be made out except that it stood within a rectangular platform and incorporated a vaulted concrete structure, now ruined and inaccessible. The ploughed-out remains include tufa blocks, concrete flooring with inset white tesserae (good evidence of Republican date), *opus spicatum* paving, painted plaster and a little pottery, including black-glazed. Stefani (MS. notes) observed a pavement of white tesserae and a *cuniculus*, presumably for drainage, in the cliffs below.

On the cliff-edge 100 m. to the north, are a group of five barrel-vaulted cisterns, two of which are still nearly intact. The inner walls are of very rough, brown tufa reticulate, built within an outer perimeter wall of unfaced rubble concrete; the vaults are of the same concrete, laid over a framework of planks and bedded horizontally. The two arched openings in each internal wall were finished with *tufelli*, now mostly robbed (fig. 20, pl. XVI, *b*).

855559. The remains of a large Roman villa standing on the summit of the ridge about 150 m. east of the Casale Cabrioli were destroyed, and the materials reused, when the Casale was built about ten years ago. All that can now be seen is a scatter of tile and mortar and some pottery, including black-glazed. Local gossip suggests that there were Roman buildings also on the site of the Casale itself.

837577. The scanty remains of a destroyed Roman building to the east of the Nepi road are those of the villa marked by Canina (pl. II). From it came a statue of Bacchus, now in the Borghese Gallery (*ibid.*, pp. 95–96, pl. XLIII) and the late inscription *CIL* xi, 1, 3830.

847568. Set on a slight rise at the foot of the slopes opposite the Ponte Sodo, near the basins of the Quattro Fontanili. There are three visible features: (*a*) immediately to the west and north-west of the Fontanile, the main building, which has been almost totally destroyed by cultivation in the last few years; tufa reticulate and brick; a lot of coloured marbles, including at least one *sectile* floor; a floor of concrete with inset white tesserae (*i.e.* Republican); *opus spicatum*; much pottery, including black-glazed; (*b*) 60–80 m. to the south, overlooking the

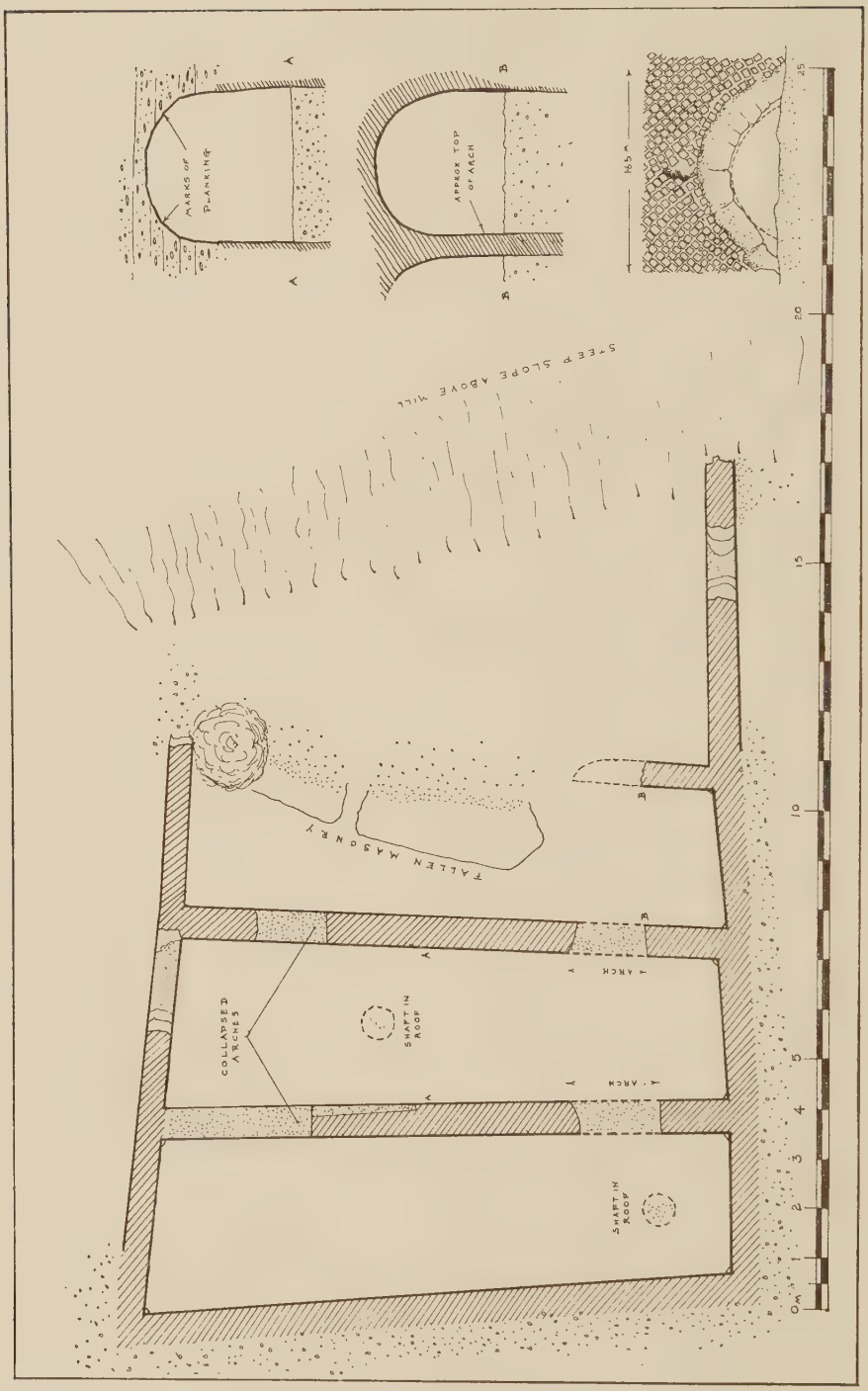


FIG. 20. ROMAN CISTERN ON THE CLIFFS ABOVE THE MILL

river, the angle of a terrace built of tufa quasi-reticulate and tufelli, with buttressing, barrel-vaulted chambers; (*c*) opening into the hillside immediately above the Fontanile, a concrete-lined chamber with a concrete barrel vault, the stones of which are laid radially; the source of the villa's water-supply, with a rock-cut tunnel running back into the hillside along the line of a water-bearing vein, now dry.

859563. Immediately to the north of Casale Vaccherecia and partly overlaid by it, scanty traces of a large Roman villa, destroyed when the Casale was built shortly after the Second World War.

857548. On the platform of level ground that juts out into the valley on the right of the track from Isola Farnese to Casale Vaccherecia, at the point where the modern road resumes alignment after zig-zagging up the hill: the remains of a Roman building, indicated by considerable stretches of *opus spicatum* paving. Between the building and the road is a sunken, rectangular chamber with four deep, rectangular recesses (each 1·50 m. wide) along the east side and three along the south; in front of the south face two pillars of rock were left unquarried to help support the roof, now destroyed; the walls throughout were plastered to a height of 1·50 m., above which the natural rock was left exposed. Cellars? The whole complex suggests a dependence of the Vaccherecia villa rather than an independent farmstead.

On the opposite side of the road, at a higher level, there is a rock-cut tomb, of probably Roman date, consisting of a large central chamber with round-headed grave *loculi*: down either side, two loculi with a smaller recess in the spandrel between; and at the far end one *loculus* and two small recesses, similarly placed.

Other outlying structures.—For the 'Bagni della Regina,' a Roman bath-building established over a hot mineral spring in the bed of the Valchetta gorge, about half-way between the North-east Gate and the Piazza d'Armi, partially excavated in 1959, see G. D. B. Jones *PBSR*, xxviii, 1960, pp. 55–69. The site had been frequented since Etruscan times (p. 52), but the bath-building evidently dates from the period of relative prosperity that followed the establishment of the *municipium*. It underwent substantial structural modifications at a later date. This is the building that is illustrated by Canina, pl. XX, drawn presumably before the river broke into and destroyed the part of the building that lay upstream. The 'bridge' to which he and other writers refer (shown also on the 1 : 25,000 edition of the Istituto Geografico Militare map) is in fact part of the massive outer wall of the bath-building.

For the probable use of other hot springs, in the meadows at or near the foot of the Vignacce valley, opposite Isola Farnese, see Gerhard, *ap.* Gell (p. 83, item *c*), recording a circular basin of approximately 2·80 m. diameter. When he saw it, this basin, which appeared to have two internal steps, had already been largely filled in by cultivation.

For the Roman bridges over the Valchetta at the North-east Gate and the Formello Gate, see p. 62.

For the roadside fountain in Portonaccio, see p. 13. Another roadside fountain, the 'Fontana del Re Carlo,' beside the Via Veientana, just beyond the bridge over the Cremera, is described and illustrated in *PBSR* xxiii, 1955, pp. 52–55.

(*d*) *The Cemeteries*

By comparison with the Etruscan cemeteries, those of the Roman town were modest both in their extent and in the quality of the individual tombs. This may have been due in part to the practice of reusing the chamber tombs of the Etruscan period, although there is in fact very little evidence for this practice at Veii; but it is probably also a not unfair reflection of the character of the town itself. Such wealth as there was lay in the hands of the owners of the villas of the surrounding countryside, and in the cemeteries of Veii itself tombs like that found by the nineteenth-century excavators or those in the Vignacce valley were probably the exceptions.

The best-known of the Roman cemeteries is that which lies immediately outside the North-east Gate, known familiarly as "la Spezeria," or "il Colombario." The whole area in front of the gate had already been extensively quarried, and the

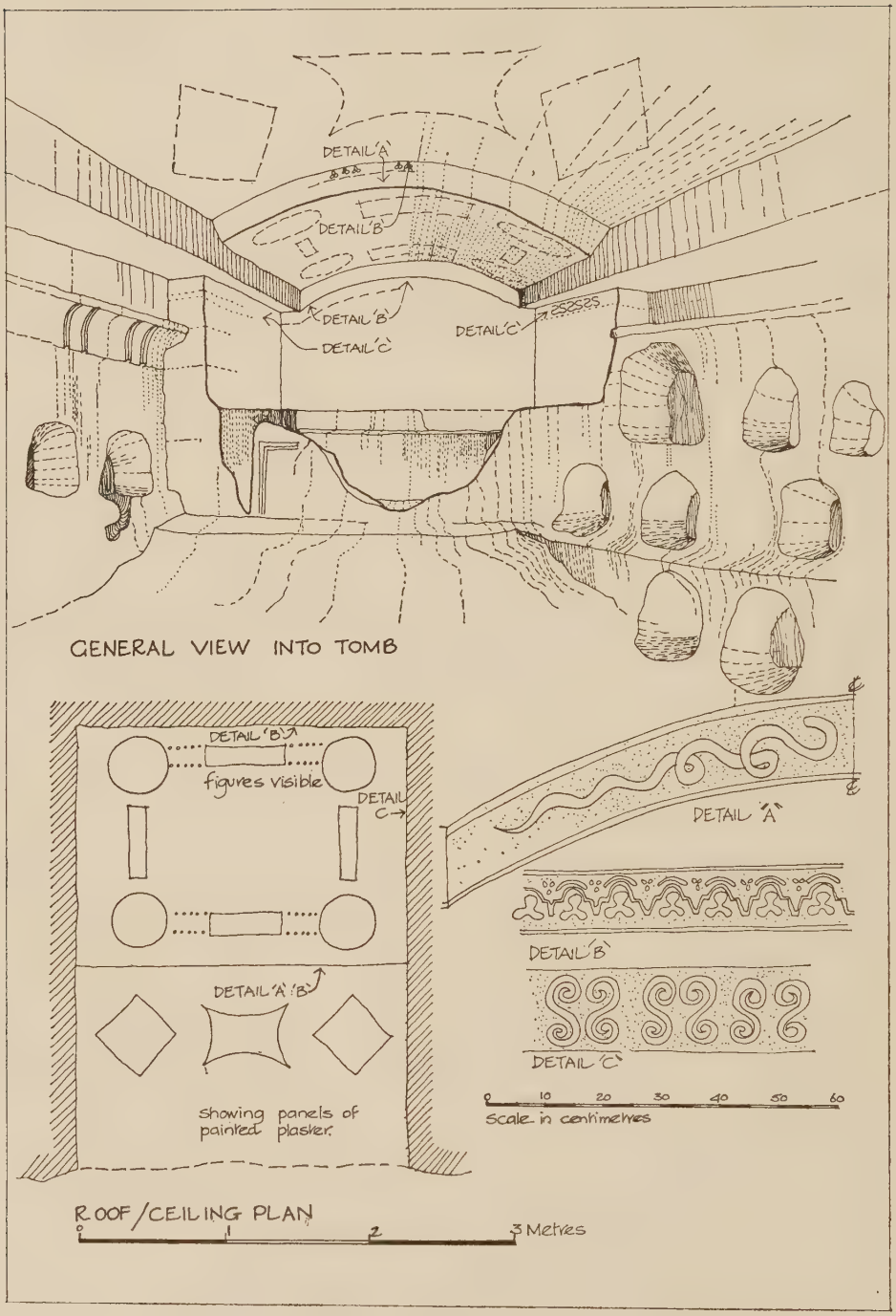


FIG. 21. THE VIGNACCE CEMETERY, TOMB 6

vertical faces both of the road cutting and of the surrounding quarries are honeycombed with graves. Apart from a single tiny chamber tomb (fig. 25, *above*), these are all cinerary recesses, unusual only in being rock-cut and situated in the open rather than grouped within a building.

An interesting and unexplained feature of the distribution of the Roman cemeteries is that, although the Columbarium excavated in 1812-17 apparently stood on the plateau, right alongside the inhabited centre, the cemetery described in the preceding paragraph is situated with strict regard to the circuit of the Etruscan walls, which at this point were evidently still considered to constitute the boundary of the Roman town.

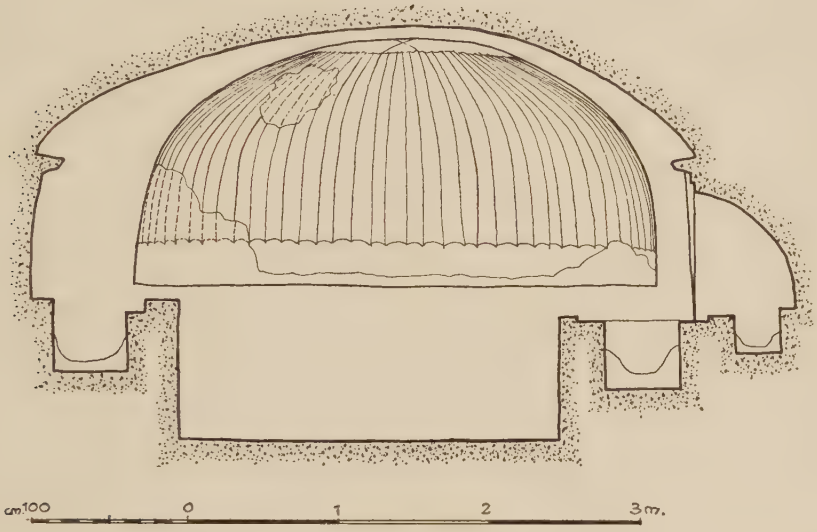


Fig. 22. The Vignacce Cemetery, Tomb 5

Tombs beside the Portonaccio road.—For the two early Imperial mausolea on the site of the Isola Farnese cemetery, see p. 12, fig. 3, *a*; for the small, late cemetery on the site of the Portonaccio cemetery, p. 13.

Tombs in the valley below the Vignacce postern.—In the cliffs along the east side of the valley that runs down to the river from the Vignacce postern there are the remains of a small cemetery (fig. 18). One of the tombs (No. 1) is almost certainly early and has been described in a previous section. Two more (Nos. 2, 5) are certainly, and one (No. 4) probably, Imperial. There is also an elaborately contrived cistern, which may for convenience be described in the same context.

1. Small, plain, barrel-vaulted, rock-cut tomb, containing a pair of graves cut into the upper surfaces of two funerary benches; that on the right-hand side is shorter than the length of chamber.
2. Roman rock-cut tomb of the second century A.D. with provision for both inhumations and incinerations. The architectural scheme is elaborate, with a complicated series of recesses and projections, and it was enriched with fine stuccowork, of which the following features can still be deciphered: a simple kymation; a continuous pattern of counterposed Ss; in the right-hand wall a shell-head; and on the vertical strip that separates the two halves of the vault two serpents flanking a destroyed central feature. There were three successive coats of stucco, the stone beneath having first been dressed smooth with a claw chisel (fig. 21).
3. Probably a tomb originally, but now entirely recut, with a manger along the rear wall and a recess in the right-hand wall containing a pair of large, intercommunicating vats.

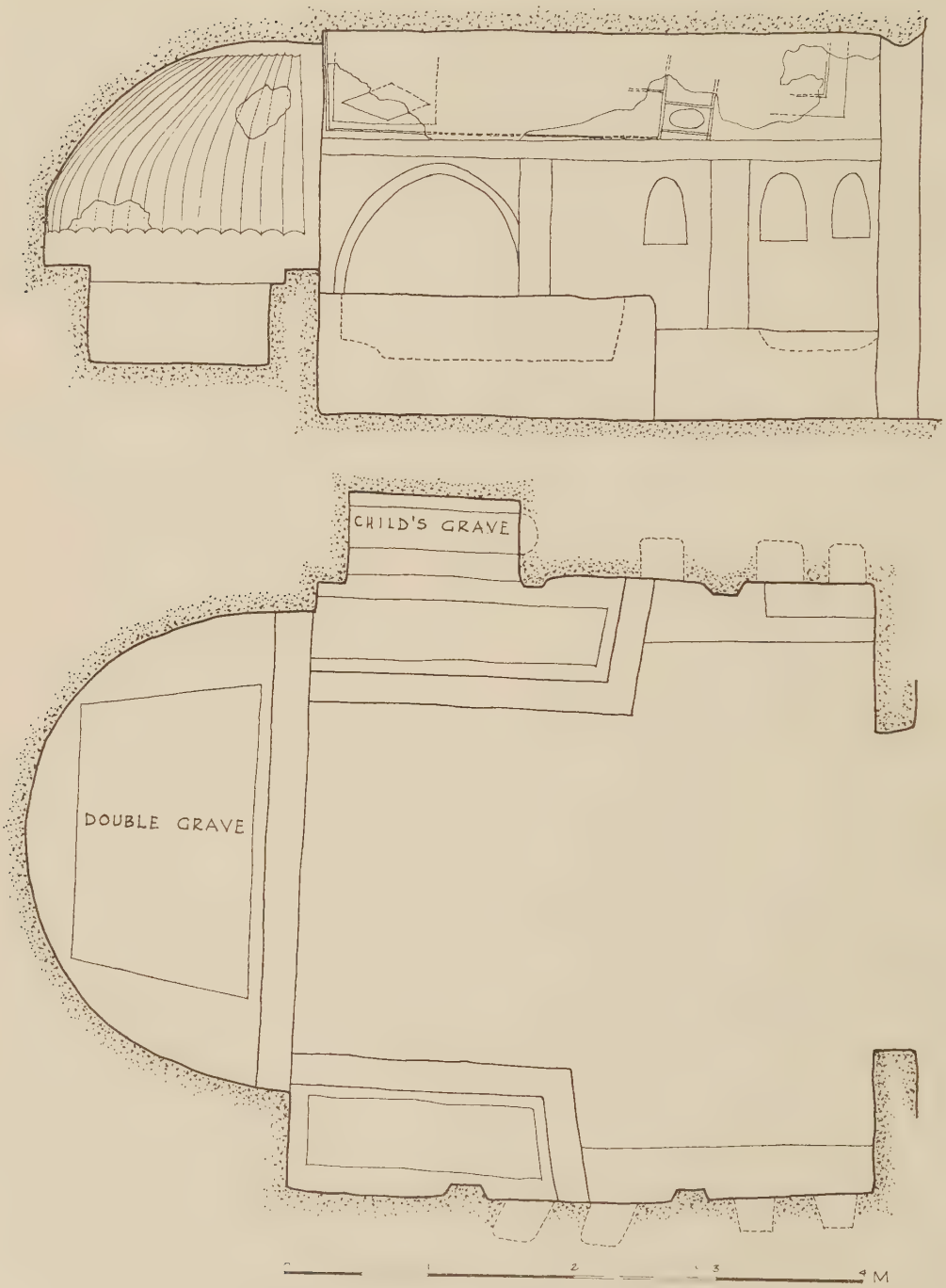


Fig. 23. The Vignacce Cemetery, Tomb 2

4. Simple, rectangular, rock-cut tomb with a low, segmental barrel vault; at the far end, a single recess, similarly vaulted, containing a single grave. The facade has fallen and the whole tomb has suffered greatly from the poor quality of the tufa in which it is cut. It was doubtless stuccoed.
5. Small rectangular tomb with three grave recesses, one in the far wall and one at either side; now silted almost to the ceiling.
6. Roman rock-cut tomb of the second century A.D., with provision for both inhumations and incinerations and traces of fine stuccowork. The chamber is approximately rectangular (4·35 × 4·70 m.), with a deep apse at the far end containing a raised bench, in which is cut a double grave. On each side of the apse, against the side walls, there is a projecting, rock-cut sarcophagus, and between it and the entrance a low bench. The upper part of each of the side walls is divided by shallow pilasters into three compartments, of which the two nearest the entrance contain cinerary recesses. At the far end, on the right, there is a round-headed recess containing a child's grave. There are traces of stucco decoration on the vault (geometric panels) and in the semidome of the apse (a shell) (fig. 23).
7. Adjoining 3, a pair of intercommunicating, rock-cut cisterns associated with a feature above that is now inaccessible. The larger of the two is rectangular (approx. 3 m. × 4·50 m.) and lined with waterproof concrete to a height of 3·90 m. above the floor, with quarter-rounds in the angles between walls and floor and in three of the vertical corners. Opening off this is a second, curving, corridor-like cistern of about 4·70 m. mean length by 1·55 m. wide, now open at the far end but originally (as the surviving quarter-rounds show) closed and, like its companion, lined with waterproof concrete. A 10–12 cm., nearly vertical slot in the wall of this second cistern communicates with a now inaccessible upper chamber. In his MS map Stefani marks this as the site of a *torcularium*. What, if any, other evidence he had for this identification cannot now be determined; but that these cisterns served some such specialised purpose seems very likely (fig. 24).

The prominent ruin on the hill above ('la Casa Rotta,' or ' la Torraccia') is that of a farmhouse of relatively recent date.

Cemetery on the Piazza d'Armi.—In excavating the gate of the Etruscan citadel Stefani (*Not. Scav.*, 1922, pp. 394–397) found, overlying it, the shattered remains of a cemetery of the Roman period, including a mausoleum built of brick with marble details (Hadrianic tile-stamps), a marble strigil sarcophagus, and a limestone sarcophagus. *Cf.* also *CIL*, xi, 1, 3840.

Cemetery outside the North-east Gate.—The small chamber-tomb (1·64 × 1·20 m.) lies just to the west of the gate; it contains a single funerary bench, and the plain doorway is set within a triangular-headed recess (fig. 25, *above*). The cinerary recesses (fig. 25, *below*) are of very varied shapes, some rectangular, some round-headed, and some with triangular heads, or separate gables. The ash-urns in each case are simple cylindrical shafts cut in the rock, averaging some 30 cm. in diameter by 30 cm. deep. One or two of the recesses are framed with very simple mouldings, and many of them retain traces of the painted plaster with which all were once lined. There are also several rectangular sockets, which once held inscriptions (pl. XVIII).

For the early Imperial columbarium near the town centre, see pp. 68, 84. It is known only from the tantalisingly brief accounts of the nineteenth-century antiquaries, who saw it when it was already ruined.

VII. POST-CLASSICAL VEII

It is very unlikely indeed that any substantial urban community survived the events which culminated in the fall of the Western Empire. If the inscriptional evidence has been read aright, Veii was already in full decline in the fourth century. The reasons may well have been in the first place economic, namely the concentration of such wealth as there was in the hands of the well-to-do landlords whose villas are so conspicuous a feature of the local countryside, at the expense of a township which, lying off the main road and lacking any particular resources, had already begun to be something of an anachronism two or three centuries earlier. At the same time it lay near enough to the main road to be vulnerable to any marauding

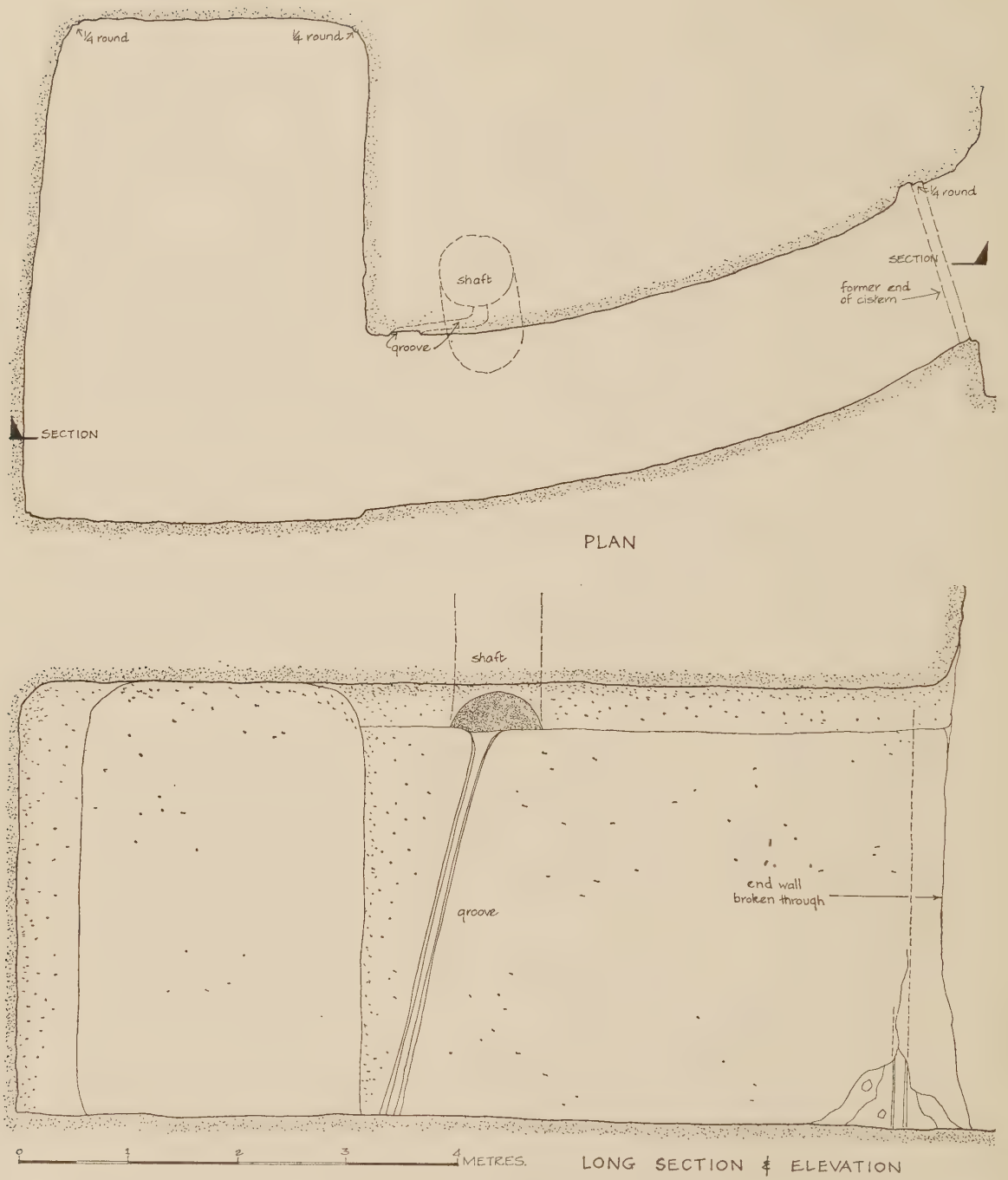


FIG. 24. THE VIGNACCE CEMETERY, CISTERN (NO. 7)

army; and, unlike so many other ancient Italian towns, it had no impregnable hill-top fortress to which its inhabitants could withdraw. As a functioning community Veii may well have ceased to exist by the fifth century.

The villas were less exposed, those of them at any rate that lay off the main roads; and representing as they do a less complex economy than that of the towns, they were more resilient in the face of disaster. Even at an earlier date there are very few traces of any intensive agricultural specialisation, and a great many of them were certainly still functioning in Late Antiquity. After the fourth century the archaeological evidence becomes increasingly difficult to assess, and only careful excavation on a number of sites could tell us what percentage of the demonstrably fourth-century villas continued in effective occupation into the following period. But such evidence as there is does suggest that, in some form or another, many of them did, and that within the Ager Veientanus it was these that ensured the continuity of classical life into the early Middle Ages.

This is certainly the picture conveyed by the accounts of the establishment of the Domusculta Capracorum, the great Papal estate that was created by Pope Hadrian I (772-795) in the heart of the Ager Veientanus, less than 2 miles north-east of the ancient city.[1] Even by classical standards this was a *latifundium*, stretching from Veii to the boundaries of Nepi and comprising the whole or part of the territories of at least five later medieval townships. But it is important to observe that in this case the term has none of the connotations of derelict grazing territory which, rightly or wrongly, are often attached to it in classical times. There were farms of all sizes, vineyards, olive plantations, watermills,[2] and the produce included wheat, barley, wine, beans of various sorts and pigs.[3] If the last-named are evidence of forest-land, there was evidently also much land that was still under cultivation. What is more we are very precisely informed how this great estate was established. Pope Hadrian already owned the farm of Capracorum (*fundum Capracorum*) and had inherited other neighbouring properties from his family. Yet others he now acquired by purchase, and the whole was brought together under a single administration to form the Domusculta Capracorum. In the context one can hardly doubt that many of the constituent units represent substantially the estates of the classical period of which there are so many traces in this part of the Ager Veientanus.

The history of the Domusculta Capracorum helps to explain how it was that so many of the classical properties appear to have survived as functioning agricultural units right through to the later Middle Ages, when we find many of them still bearing the names of their classical owners. It also illustrates one of the phenomena that led to their eventual dismemberment. From the eleventh century onwards until its disappearance from the records in the thirteenth, Capracorum regularly figures as a *castellum*, or *curtis*; and in place of the great centralised estate, we can trace the emergence of a number of independent *castella*, at least five of which survive

[1] *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. i, pp. 501–502; *cf.* G. Tomassetti, *Arch. Stor. Patr. Rom.*, v, 1882, pp. 141–143. The site, which was still visible in the seventeenth century (F. Nardini, *L'antico Veio*, 1647) but had since been lost, was reidentified in 1958 on a hill, Poggio della Chiesola, near the Casale di S. Cornelia, and a trial excavation undertaken in October 1960 has confirmed the identification. A systematic excavation is now in progress.

[2] *Ibid.*: 'cum massis, fundis, casalibus, vineis, olivetis, aquimolis et omnibus ei pertinentibus.'

[3] *Ibid.*: 'Triticum seu ordeum . . . vinum vero seu diversa legumina . . . porcos.'

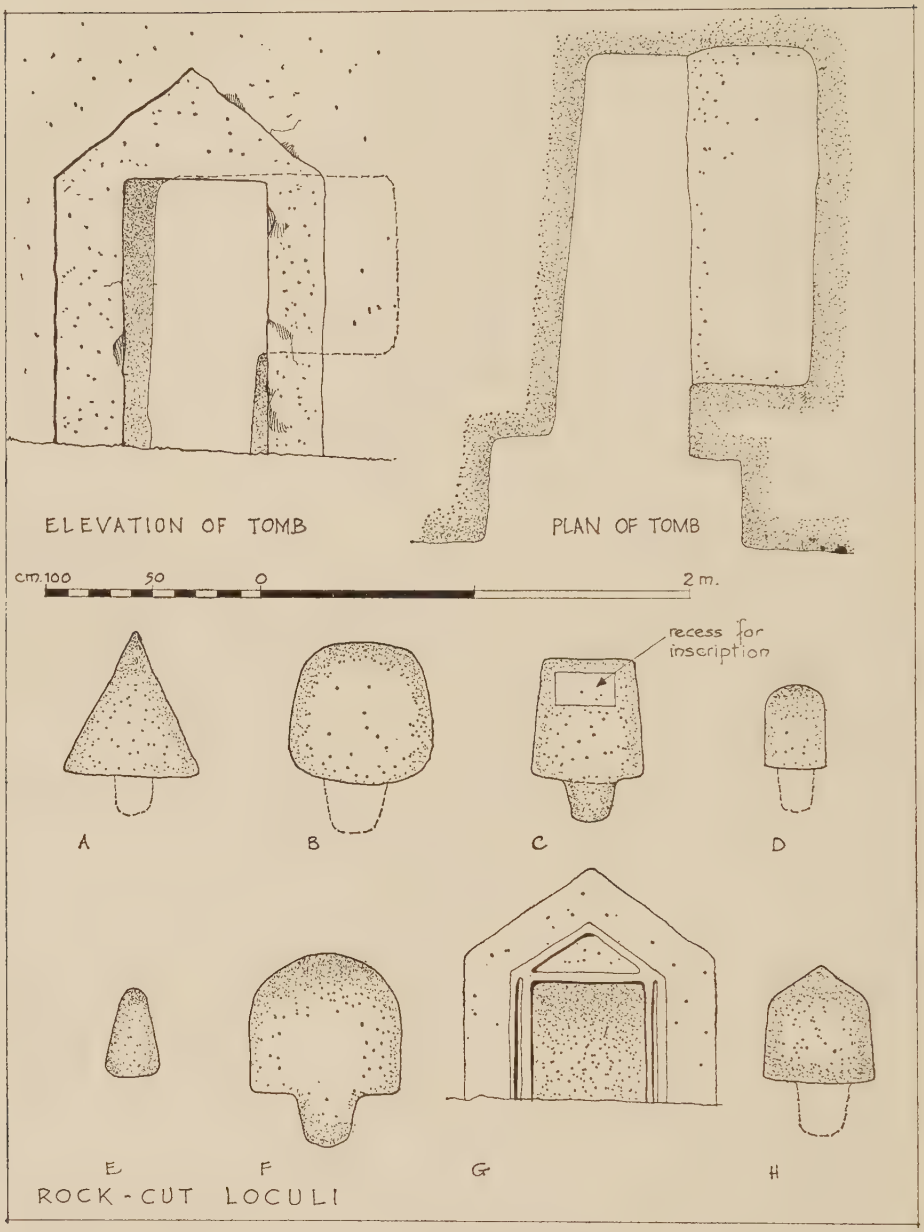


Fig. 25. Tomb and Cinerary Niches beside the North-east Gate (p. 75)

today as the villages of Formello, Campagnano, Mazzano, Calcata and Faleria (the medieval Stabia). The details of this process await further study, both on the ground and in the documents. It was already well under way in the second half of the tenth century[1]; and both from the language of the documents and from the study

[1] The earliest references cited by Tomassetti (*La Campagna Romana*, vol. iii) are as follows: Mazzano, 945; Calcata, 974; Stabia (under the suggestive heading of *villa quae vocatur Stabla*), 998; Formello, 1037; Campagnano, 1076.

of the villages themselves and of the many other sites which have not survived as inhabited centres, but which evidently shared the same early history, it is quite clear that the impelling motive was in all cases security. These were all sites that were well fortified by nature and could be made virtually impregnable with a modest outlay of money and effort. Here, under the protection of some landowner rich and powerful enough to build a strong tower or castle, the inhabitants of the neighbouring farms could feel a safety that was no longer to be enjoyed in the open countryside. The migration of the last inhabitants of Capracorum into Formello, bearing with them the relics of their abandoned church, is the completion of a process that had begun long before. It marks the end of an epoch.

Veii itself was not directly affected by these changes. The site was far too large for ordinary purposes of defence; and as an organised community the town had ceased to exist centuries before the new pattern began to take shape. There was, however, a very suitable and attractive site nearby, the narrow, cliff-encircled promontory to the south of the ancient town, opposite Portonaccio (pl. XIX). Here, not later than the end of the tenth century, was established the 'Castellum Insulae,' now the village of Isola Farnese. To it must have retreated any remnant of the population of Veii still living on the plateau or in the immediate neighbourhood; perhaps also some remnant of the communities formerly established along the Via Cassia. Of all the features that distinguish the medieval from the classical pattern of settlement within the Ager Veientanus and the territories adjoining it, none is more striking than the almost total abandonment of the countryside immediately adjoining the main roads. The first village out of Rome along the Cassia is Monterosi, 40 km. from the city; and even Monterosi, as a roadside village, is almost certainly a post-medieval growth, founded when it once again became safe to venture down from the protection of the castle on the hill above. Along the Flaminia there is not a single village between Prima Porta (another post-medieval growth) and Civita Castellana. The great trunk roads were still important arteries of traffic. But nobody ventured to live alongside them unless he had very good reason to do so.

The subsequent history and surviving remains of Isola Farnese lie outside the scope of this article. For the present it must be sufficient to record that the site and layout of the village (fig. 26) are in all respects typical of medieval settlement in this deeply eroded tufa countryside. The site is in no way conspicuous, except when viewed from the valley below. The only feature that distinguishes it from innumerable other headlands of higher ground is that at one point the surrounding cliffs converge to form a narrow, rocky isthmus; and at this point stood the castle. The present building is of no very great age or distinction. It does, however, unquestionably mark the site of the tenth-century *castellum*; and it is very likely indeed that the deep, rock-cut ditch in front of it is, in part at any rate, an original feature. Opposite the castle, in the valley below, stood the water-mill, references to which go back to as early as 1029; and behind the castle, protected by it, lay the village.

The village today consists of a modest agglomeration of houses picturesquely grouped around an irregular piazza, on one side of which stands the church. There

was formerly at least one other church, or chapel, already ruined by the mid-nineteenth century,[1] and the remains of a defensive wall can be seen along the south flank of the village, overlooking the stepped pathway which until the cutting of the motor road was its only access. There is no single building that can be seen to be of any great age. There is in fact little doubt that during the Middle Ages, and possibly for some considerable time thereafter, most of the inhabitants were housed in the caves of which some can still be seen around the perimeter of the promontory,

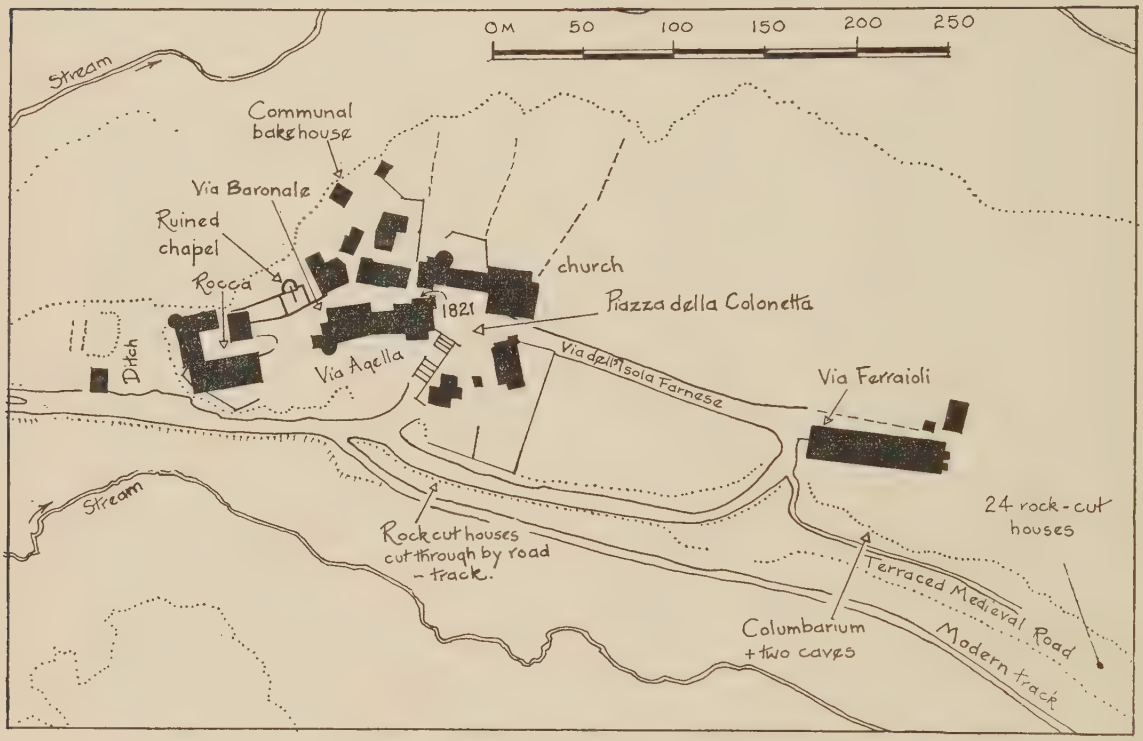


Fig. 26. Isola Farnese (*cf.* pl. XVIII)

while others underlie the houses of the present village. That this was the ordinary medieval form of housing in this tufa countryside there is ample evidence from other sites. The picturesque 'medieval' villages of Southern Etruria are medieval indeed in their history, their location and, to a considerable extent, their internal topography. But, apart from their castles and their churches, there is little about them that antedates the sixteenth century.

That the Rocca of Isola Farnese was established at least as early as the end of the tenth century and was in active use throughout the Middle Ages is shown by the numerous documents cited by Tomassetti (*La Campagna Romana*, iii, pp. 97–100). The earliest of these is of the year 1003, in which Pope John XVII confirms the abbot of SS. Cosma e Damiano in the ownership of the *Castellum Insulae*. A few years later, in 1029, we find the same abbot leasing out the water mill in the valley below, clear evidence that there was already a substantial settled community; and by the time of Pascal II (1099–1118) the castle was sufficiently important to have housed the hostages sent

[1] L. Canina, *Descrizione dell'Antica Città di Veii*, 1847, pl. VIII.

by Henry V. At least two later emperors, Otho I (1209) and Henry VII (1312) are recorded as having lodged there. As early as 1286 it was in the hands of the Orsini, who sold it in 1616 to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, whence the modern name.

As it stands today, the castle is a building of little architectural character, and it may be doubted whether even before the most recent restoration of the structure, undertaken in 1910, there were any visible remains of medieval date. The only demonstrably ancient feature is the site itself, which is one of great natural strength (pl. VII, *a*; *cf.* pl. I), dominating the narrow neck of ground which offers the only access to the cliff-girt promontory beyond, and further strengthened by the cutting of a broad, deep ditch, which may well be that of the original castle. The only approach to the castle itself and to the level ground beyond it passed directly beneath the south flank of the fortress, a simple but highly effective disposition which one meets repeatedly in the medieval villages of northern Lazio and the Viterbese (*cf.* Corchiano, Faleria (Stabia), Morlupo, Norchia, San Giovenale, and many others). Until quite recent times the road was also directly overlooked by the walls of the village immediately beyond the castle, as we see it for example in Canina's illustration (Canina, pl. VI). Since then it has twice been slightly displaced, at first to provide a more convenient and decorous approach to the main piazza up a flight of steps, and more recently so as to give access to the same piazza by car.

The present-day village of Isola Farnese (fig. 26) consists of a modest group of houses clustering under the shelter of the castle, partly within and partly without a circuit of walls, of which there are the substantial remains, including two rounded towers, along the south and east sides of the central nucleus. Inside the walls the village consists essentially of a single street, the Via Baronale, leading up to the castle. At the west end it is separated from the castle by a ditch, and at the east end an archway (pl. XXI, *a*) opens on to the Piazza della Colonnetta, so-called after the small Roman column from Veii set up at the head of the flight of steps which was until recently the principal means of access to the village. The Piazza (pl. XXI, *b*), which lies just outside the circuit of walls and is the centre of the present-day village, contains the only surviving monument of any substance or antiquity, the parish church, which is a building of the first half of the sixteenth century. There are also two ruined chapels of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries: one, already roofless and derelict in 1847 (Canina, pl. 8), just outside the entrance to the castle, the other incorporated in a modern building just outside the village to the west of the castle. Otherwise the only building that is demonstrably earlier than the nineteenth century is a house with an eighteenth-century stucco facade about half-way down the north side of the Via Baronale.

There is nothing of the present village that can be shown to be as early as the Middle Ages. The medieval village was in fact almost certainly something very different both in character and in location. It is possible that the position of the church, outside the walled nucleus, is significant and that it marks the site of an earlier building. The medieval houses, on the other hand, seem to have been far more scattered and were probably not built of masonry at all, but took the form either of timber-framed *capanne* or of caves cut in the tufa. There are in fact two large groups of such caves along the southern slopes of the plateau, where there are long outcrops of hard tufa and where a terraced platform marks the line of the contemporary street. One of these extends for a distance of some 80 m. to the east of the fork of the track that strikes obliquely off down the south side of the plateau, leading to the valley of the Fosso dei Due Fossi; it was badly damaged when the track was cut. The other lies some 200–300 m. to the east. These were not tombs, as some of the earlier visitors believed, but rock-cut dwellings, similar to those that can still be seen in many of the abandoned medieval villages of Southern Etruria, wherever the tufa was of a quality good enough to house them. Another recurrent feature of such villages is the Columbarium, which bears a superficial resemblance to the funerary *columbarium* of classical times, but which in these medieval villages still served its original purpose as a dovecot (pl. XX, *b*), presumably (to judge from the location and extent of some of the surviving examples) for communal use. When this straggling medieval village gave place to the more concentrated unit, grouped within a defensive wall, out of which the present-day village has developed, there is no direct evidence to show. On the analogy of what was happening elsewhere in the neighbourhood, it can hardly have been before the very end of the medieval period and may well have been quite considerably later.

For the existence of a mill in 1029, see the document in the archive of SS. Cosma e Damiano (Fedele, no. 33) cited by Tomassetti, *La Campagna Romana*, iii, pp. 97–98.

For a bridge, the *pons Veneni* ('Ponte Veiente'), over the Fosso Piordo, which is described as *rivus qui descendit in pontem Veneni*, see Tomassetti (*op. cit.*, p. 89), citing a bull of Agapitus II on behal of S. Silvestro in Capite, dated A.D. 955 (G. Marini, *Papiri*, p. 43). Tomassetti identifies the bridge with the modern Ponte Formello. A more likely alternative is that which carried the Via Cassia over the Fosso Piordo opposite the Osteria del Fosso. The structure destroyed in 1944 was not itself ancient, but it stood on the site of a Roman bridge.

Today once again, as in later Roman times, the centre of gravity is rapidly shifting elsewhere, towards the Via Cassia and out into the open countryside. The road that joins Isola Farnese to the Cassia is lined on either side with new houses; and La Storta, in Canina's day a tiny hamlet at a crook in the road, is now a busy, straggling, rapidly growing roadside community, with shops, bars, petrol stations, a school, a customs post, and a municipal bus-service linking it with Rome. Meanwhile each year sees the establishment of new farmsteads in the open country round about. The entire surface of the ancient city is under cultivation, and with the advent of the heavy tractor plough even the familiar contours of the landscape are no longer safe. There is much knowledge that could still be won from the soil of Veii. But time is running out. In a few years it will be too late.

J. B. Ward-Perkins.

APPENDIX I

NOTES ON THE ACCOUNTS OF VEII GIVEN BY GELL, DENNIS AND CANINA

(*a*) Sir William Gell, *The Topography of Rome and its Vicinity*, 2 vols., London, 1834; a second edition, revised and enlarged by E. H. Bunbury, appeared in 1846. The references that follow are to the first edition. The account of Veii (vol. ii, pp. 303–340) is the same as that of which an Italian translation had already appeared in *Memorie dell'Instituto di Correspondenza Archeologica*, vol. i, 1832, pp. 3–29 (*not* in the *Annali dell'Istituto*, as one would be led to expect by Gell's own phraseology: 'in the Annals of the Roman Archaeological Society, for the year 1832'). References to Gerhard are to supplementary notes appended to the Italian version of Gell's article.

Gell's acquaintance with the site of Veii dates from the years between 1822, when the preparation of his map of the Roman Campagna was first undertaken, and 1830. In his account of the site he remarks—the words have a very modern ring—that when he first visited it ten years previously, he saw 'so many more vestiges than existed in the summer of 1830, that if the destruction or consumption of the material of the ancient city be continued for a second ten years to the same extent, it is probable that not a stone will remain.'

His visit begins at the South-east Gate, and then works round the north side of the city, anticlockwise. His account of the south side is far more summary, and mentions a few only of the features shown on his map, most of which are derived from the notes appended by Gerhard to the Italian version. For these notes and for the relative reliability of the Italian and English versions of the map, see below.

P. 320. The South-east Gate, in the deep gully between the Piazza d'Armi and the main plateau, barring the approach. Not only was much of the pavement still intact in the 'twenties, but Gell also noted several large squared blocks, which he took to mark the site of the gate itself.

Pp. 320–321. Very little was visible on the Piazza d'Armi itself, except some piles of rubble and the funerary inscription to the husband of Tarquitia Prisca (*CIL*, XI, 1, 3840).

Pp. 321–322. Gate H. It is curious that neither Gell nor Dennis (but *cf.* Dennis, p. 11) refer at this point to the magnificent stretch of walling recorded by Canina (pl. 13) alongside the presumed site of this gate, and still extant (see above, pp. 36, 38, fig. 11).

P. 322. Gate N. If one disregards the curious displacement of this gate on Gell's map, as if to the left bank of the stream, this corresponds closely enough with the northernmost of the two possible exits through the eastern defences of the city, between the Piazza d'Armi and the North-east Gate (see p. 16, the Vaccherecia postern). The roads to which Gell refers as supposedly leading from it to Prima Porta and to Pietra Pertusa are, however, wrongly associated with it. In reality both leave Veii by way of the North-east Gate. There is nothing whatever to suggest that there was ever anything more than a field path leaving the city at this point.

Pp. 323–324. Gate P (The North-east or Capena Gate). I have been unable to find any reference to any publication of the plan said to have been made by M. Lenoir.

P. 325. The road LL, paved until a few years previously, is the stretch of the axial road that lies between the South-east Gate and the Roman town-centre; the stretch onwards to the North-west (Nepi) Gate had already been broken up some years earlier.

'M, the forum or columbarium.' The words 'or columbarium,' which are meaningless as they stand, do not appear in the Italian version and are evidently a careless insertion into the English text, based on the information appended by Gerhard to the Italian version (see below, *t*), in which the 'columbarium' is described as near the Forum.

Pp. 325–327. There is some confusion over the stretch of walling stated to exist between the North-east Gate (P) and the Ponte Sodo, and illustrated as an inset on Gell's map. The only stretch of walling preserved in this sector is that cleared in 1959 (p. 34), which bears no relation whatsoever either to the description in Gell's text or to the illustration. Not only does the use of brick seem unlikely in such a context and in such a position, but the gigantic dimensions of the tufa blocks (up to 11 ft. in length) are unparalleled, and it may even be doubted whether the local stone could have been successfully quarried in blocks of such a size. Can it be that Gell, like many an archaeologist since, made a mistake in interpreting his own field notes, taken some years earlier? Dennis (who admittedly also missed the stretch of wall that still survives) is frankly sceptical and makes the not implausible suggestion (p. 13) that what Gell had in mind was the surviving pier of the bridge opposite the Formello Gate.

P. 328. For the remains of the gate above the Ponte Sodo, see Dennis's comments (p. 12). This was certainly not the gate for Nepi, but a secondary gate or postern, serving the fields and cemeteries to the north of the city.

P. 331. As Dennis rightly observes, the 'aqueduct' never entered the city. It is in fact the catchment *cuniculus* and basin for the Roman villa situated just below (see p. 71).

Pp. 331–332. Gate R, *i.e.* the Formello Gate. The 'great squared blocks and foundations of the wall' ascending in the direction of the North-west Gate were presumably part of the fifth century defences, at that date still visible just to the north of the Formello Gate.

P. 334. Tumulus, *i.e.* the Pisciacavallo tumulus, or 'Monte Tondo.' Gell is alone in claiming to have seen 'the remains of a second (tumulus), and perhaps a third, between the road and the Cremera.'

P. 335. 'The road which climbs the hill from Ponte dell'Isola,' *i.e.* the medieval road from Formello to the Via Cassia near La Storta, this stretch of which may possibly be ancient.

P. 336. Note the explicit statement that there were no visible antiquities on the line of the present road from the Via Cassia to Isola Farnese, an observation confirmed by the lack of finds during the extensive building operations undertaken along the line of this road during the last decade. None of the nineteenth-century antiquaries seems to have observed the ancient road leading down to the site of the modern cemetery, and thence to the Portonaccio Gate.

P. 337. 'The Glen S' is the Vignacce valley, where Dennis too marks a doubtful gate, M.

Gate T, *i.e.* the Valle la Fata Gate (Dennis's Gate B). Below this point a path 'which undoubtedly was an ancient road, as might have been observed a few years ago,' ran down the left bank of the river. This would have served the cemeteries located along this stretch.

The original Italian edition of the map (*Memorie dell'Istituto*, vol. i, pl. I) is topographically more accurate than its English successors, and it contains several indications that have slipped out of the later versions (*e.g.* the location of Q, the alleged fragment of gigantic masonry). It is also marks, in smaller letters, a number of features due to the observations of the editor, Gerhard, and of an English architect, Knapp, which are listed with a brief commentary in an appendix (*Memorie*, pp. 23–29), and which are evidently the source of many of the otherwise unexplained features that appear on later, English editions of Gell's map. Some of these call for brief comment:

a. Ninfeo. The English edition and Dennis's map both show this as if it were on top of the plateau, without any comment in the text. It is correctly shown in the Italian edition as cut into the cliff overlooking the Roman road that crossed the site of the Portonaccio temple. It is in reality a galleried tufa quarry of uncertain date, now partly collapsed.

b. Recinto di città. A single short stretch, on the cliffs beyond the Portonaccio gate. The English version of the map adds, without comment, substantial stretches of the retaining walls beneath the Portonaccio temple.

c. Acqua minerale. In the valley-bottom, just to the east of the Vignacce valley, a mineral spring with a circular surround of ancient masonry, approx. diam. 2·80 m. Already buried on the occasion of a later visit.

d, f. Sepolcri. The Roman tombs with stuccoes in the valley beside the 'Casa Rotta' (above, pp. 73–75).

g. Strada de' sepolcri. On the far slopes of the Isola Farnese promontory, towards the tip; a line of caves, now used for flocks, but said still to show signs of having once been tombs. In reality these are almost certainly medieval habitations (see p. 81).

h. Avanzi d'un recinto. Along the west side of the Piazza d'Armi.

i, k, l. The Via Veientana, south of the Fosso dei Due Fossi.

m, n, o, p, q, r. Observations on bridges, walls and other traces between the Capena Gate and the Formello Gate.

s. Avanzi accumulati. Pieces of Ionic capitals and other Roman architectural fragments of good quality, just north of the 'Forum.'

t. Colombario. This is evidently the source of Gell's own information and it is therefore worth quoting in full. 'Quanto piú dell'anzidetto mucchio di nobili frammenti (*s*), e dal posto qui appresso accennato (*u*), veniamo assicurati di qualche nobile fabbrica; tanto piú dobbiamo essere sorpresi d'incontrare in questo luogo un colombario romano di buona costruzione.'

u. Sito delle Statue. The excavations of 1812–17.

v. Altre mura. Buildings along the road leading from the 'Forum' towards the Portonaccio Gate.

x. Recinto della città. At the north-western extremity of the city. Even at this date there were evidently no continuous stretches of walling visible here.

y. Sepolcro. Rifled Etruscan tomb beside the Formello road, in the cutting east of the Ponte dell'Isola.

z. Ponte dell'Isola. The antiquity of the piers (here affirmed) is rightly questioned by Dennis.

(*b*) George Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, 2 vols., London, 1847; second edition, 1878; third edition, 1883. The references that follow are to the third and most generally accessible edition.

Dennis approached the ancient site by the track which is still used today by visitors, leading up past the mill on to the plateau at its south-western extremity. From here he struck across the open ground, past the site of the excavation of 1812–17, and so down to the Piazza d'Armi, returning counter-clockwise around the northern perimeter. Although he claims to have visited the site many times, he paid less attention to the southern slopes, some of the information on his map being clearly taken from that of Gell.

P. 4. Gate A. The Portonaccio Gate, above the mill. For the site of the excavations of 1812, see above, p. 66. 'Several other fragments of ancient walls, all mere embankments.' There is little to suggest that Dennis ever descended from the plateau to the platform occupied by the Portonaccio temple. His map at this point is evidently derived from the English version of Gell's.

For the *columbarium* (not to be confused with "il Colombario," near the Capena Gate, p. 10) see Gerhard's notes appended to the Italian version of Gell (*t*); quoted above. By Dennis's day it was 'in a state of utter ruin.'

Pp. 4–5. Dennis follows the line of the axial street (already stripped of its paving; Gell, p. 325) across the Comunitá down to the Piazza d'Armi. Unlike Gell, he saw no traces of the South-east Gate.

P. 8. 'La Scaletta' has long since fallen, as Dennis anticipated.

P. 9, n. 3. Gate F. Dennis is here following Gell (p. 322; his Gate N).

P. 10. The North-east Gate (G) and 'Il Colombario.' Some of the Roman paving was still in position; and the tombs are, as Dennis rightly observes, of Roman date.

For the bridge (R), see also Canina, pl. 16.

P. 11. 'A grand fragment of walling filling a natural gap in the cliff.' The description and location tally with those of the stretch cleared and surveyed in 1959 (see above, p. 34 and pl. XIV), but Dennis has confused it with the stretch illustrated by Canina (pl. 13), which apparently he never saw.

Pp. 11–12. The Ponte Sodo. Dennis is mistaken in criticising Gell for regarding the Ponte Sodo as, in origin, an artificial cutting; in other respects his account is the fuller and more accurate.

P. 12. For the bridge-pier (S), see Canina, pl. 17; on a later visit (p. 12, n. 1) Dennis found it largely destroyed.

Pp. 13–14. Ponte Formello; *cf.* Canina, pl. 19.

A number of features not mentioned in the text are shown on Dennis's map. These include a number of 'foundations and fragments of walling' ('e' on plan), which he took to be Etruscan, but which must in fact have been mostly Roman, following as they do the lines of the roads leading from the city-centre to the South-east Gate and to the Portonaccio Gate respectively. It is not clear why he placed the Roman Municipium in the Macchia Grande area. Several features (*e.g.* the Nymphaeum, 'a') repeat simply Gell's map without comment, and it may be questioned whether Dennis's map constitutes independent evidence for any except those points on which he differs from Gell or on which he makes specific and independent comment in his text.

(*c*) Luigi Canina, *Descrizione dell'Antica Città di Veii*, Roma, 1847.

The principal value of this work lies in its plates and in Part 3 of the text (pp. 67–108: *Descrizione dei Monumenti*). Part 1 (pp. 15–40) is devoted to the history of the site, as recorded in the classical sources; and Part 2 (pp. 45–64: *Esposizione Topografica*) to a description of the Ager Veientanus, which is of limited relevance only in the present context.

The plates include the following subjects (figures in brackets refer to the same author's *Etruria Marittima*, in which many of the plates were reused).

I (23).	Map of the district from Veii to the Tiber mouth.
II (24).	Map of Veii.
III.	Tomb of P. Vibius Marianus ('Tomba di Nerone') with the chapel of S. Andrea. A hundred years ago the Via Cassia still passed to the west of the tomb, as it did in antiquity (*PBSR*, xxvii, 1959, p. 132).
IV.	La Storta, at that time a modest posting station. In the left background the chapel commemorating the vision of S. Ignatius Loyola, damaged in 1944 and since rebuilt.
V.	Casale del Fosso and the bridge (destroyed in 1944) carrying the Via Cassia over the Fosso Piordo.
VI.	Isola Farnese. A heavily romanticised view of the castle and walls from the south.
VII.	Isola Farnese. The Piazza, looking towards the castle.
VIII.	Isola Farnese. The castle from the east. On the right the ruined chapel of S. Lucia.
IX.	Isola Farnese. The interior of the castle.
X.	Veii, from the south-east. In the foreground the Piazza d'Armi.
XI (25), XII	Romantic historical views.
XIII (26a).	Well-preserved stretch of walling overlooking the Valchetta gorge.
XIV (27).	The same, imaginary reconstruction. The backing is misleadingly drawn as if it were Roman concrete.
XV (28b).	Unidentified *cuniculus* near the North-east Gate.
XVI (28a).	Roman bridge opposite the North-east Gate.
XVII (29b).	Roman bridge opposite the Formello Gate.
XVIII (29a).	Ponte Sodo.
XIX (30a).	Ponte Formello, from the south. The alleged remains of an earlier bridge are not in fact ancient.
XX (30b).	Roman baths in the Valchetta gorge ('Bagni della Regina'). Most of the masonry shown has been swept away by the stream since this drawing was made (*PBSR*, xxix, 1960, p. 1).
XXI (32b).	The 'Fontana del Re Carlo,' beside the Via Veientana (*PBSR*, xxiii, 1955, pp. 52–55).
XXII (33a).	Presumably the Via Veientana, near XXI.

XXIII (33b).	The 'Arco del Pino,' just below the cliffs to the south of the Fosso Due Fossi (853540).
XXIV (31a).	'La Spezeria,' or 'il Colombario,' looking south-west. In the background the small chamber-tomb immediately to the west of the gate.
XXV (31b).	The North-east Gate.
XXVI (32a).	Unidentified tombs to the north of Veii.
XXVII (30b).	Unidentified tomb in the Picazzano cemetery, near Ponte Formello.
XXVIII–XXXII (34–35).	The Campana Tomb.
XXXIII (36).	Circular cistern on the brow of the hill overlooking the Fossa della Vaccherecia (the river Cremera, below Veii) at 872535 (*PBSR*, xxiii, 1955, pp. 50–51). The superstructure is wholly fanciful.

The remaining plates illustrate objects found in the cemeteries and in the excavations of 1812–17.

APPENDIX II

INSCRIPTIONS FROM VEII by J. M. REYNOLDS

I have collected below eight inscriptions found on or in the immediate neighbourhood of the site of Veii since the publication of *CIL*, XI, II, 2, in 1926. Nos. 1 and 3 have already been published, but it seems useful to present them again, along with the completely new material. The group is of course too small to yield conclusions, but, taken in conjunction with the texts already available in *CIL*, suggest (*a*) that there was a certain survival of Etruscan elements at Veii, deducible from nomenclature and even perhaps from cult (see especially no. 1) and (*b*) that in the first and second centuries A.D., there was a notable influx of freedmen, both of private families and of the imperial household, whose presence and modest prosperity are features of some importance to the social and economic history of the town.

It also seems desirable to call attention to the six inscriptions of Republican date found near the North-west Gate of Veii, published by E. Stefani in *Not. Scav.*, 1922, pp. 386–8. They are included in *CIL*, I², 2628–2333, and five of them again in A. Degrassi's *ILLRP*, 27–31. They comprise five altars with dedications to Apollo, Minerva, Iuppiter Libertas (= Iuppiter Liber), Victoria and Di Deae, and one terracotta offering table (broken) with part of the name of Hercules. Degrassi dates the altars in the third century B.C. They are clearly of great significance to the history of Veii in Republican times and show that at least there was an active religious life on the site.

1. Marble cippus (0·44 × 0·18 × 0·18) inscribed on one face. Found in 1927, at Isola Farnese; reported in the Villa Giulia Museum at Rome in 1953, but not now accessible.

Letters, not later than second century A.D.

R. Paribeni, *Not. Scav.*, 1927, p. 371 f., with drawing; *AE*, 1928, 122; H. J. Rose, *Classical Review*, XLII (1928), 171; G. Vitucci, *Riv. Fil.*, XXXI (1953), 259 f.; *AE*, 1954, 218.

Fortunae[1]
Penati[2]
Diisque[3]
Cicutii[4]
d(ono) d(ederunt)

[1] AE in ligature.

[2] Certainly to be taken as a title of Fortuna, although the singular form is not otherwise attested except by the Grammarians, *cf.* Rose and Vitucii, *loc. cit.* Fortuna appears among the Di Penates in Pompeii; Vitucci also compares *F(ortuna) D(omestica)* at Lorium (*CIL*, XI, 3730) and cites literary evidence for the inclusion of Fortuna among their Penates by the Etruscans (see also S. Weinstock, *RE*, XIX, col. 456).

[3] Probably for *ceterisque diis* or *diisque omnibus*, *cf. e.g. ILS*, 3597, *diis deabus Penatibus . . . ceterisque diibus.*

[4] The name is not otherwise attested, but Vitucci argues that it derives from an Etruscan root.

2. Marble block (0·89 × 0·62) inscribed on one face within a moulded border (panel, 0·75 × 0·41): the block has been hollowed out to form a trough and subsequently broken; of the inscribed face there survive the lower half and two pieces of the upper half, all in worn condition. At Olgiata, in the courtyard of the Casale.

Letters, second to third century: ll. 1, 7, 0·05; ll. 2, 4, 0·036; l. 3, 0·028; l. 6, 0·034.

Pl. XXII, *a* (after BSR. 1927. 70).

A(ulus) Nouius [. . *c.* 9 . .]s[1]
v. magister [. . *c.* 11 . .] *v.*[2]
? *v.* si[bi et] *v.*[3]
Cartilia[e [1] . . *c.* 9 . . uxo]ri
5. [. . . .]RE[. . *c.* 6 . .]REM[. . . et][4]
Aer[. .]tiae Callistę matri
h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur)

[1] None of the nomina have been previously recorded at Veii. Cartilius is found at an early date in Etruria (*cf.* Schulze, *Zur Geschichte Lateinischer Eigennamen*, p. 145) but does not seem common there later, when its most notable bearers are from Ostia; it may imply Etruscan connexions here, but is perhaps as likely to be immigrant as is Nouius and probably the half-read nomen (? Aerentia) in l. 6.

The mother's cognomen in l. 6 suggests a family of freedmen origin.

[2] No other instance of this title has been previously recorded at Veii. It was presumably defined in the second half of the line.

[3] It is impossible to be sure that nothing was inscribed before *s* at the beginning of this line, but the text proposed gives a reasonable layout.

[4] The gap in l. 4 contained Cartilia's cognomen; l. 5 may have contained a laudatory adjective—it would be just possible, although not entirely satisfactory, to read *v.* be[ne *v.* me]ren[ti et]—or the name and description of another relative.

3. Block of travertine, the upper part of a panel (1·27 × 0·36 × 0·25) inscribed on one face within a moulded panel (1·05 × 0·25); the block has been reused with the lower part of the panel removed, an offset cut into the R end of l. 2 and moulding on top. Findspot unrecorded, but probably the site of Veii; now in the courtyard of the castle at Isola Farnese.

Letters, probably first century: l. 1, 0·09; l. 2, 0·08.

Pl. XXII, *b* (after BSR 6 × 9. 3589).

Ismaro Aug(usti) l(iberto)
proc(uratori) Campa[niae][1]
[. . .

[1] *Cf. CIL*, X, 6081, from Formiae, an imperial freedman *procurator tractu Campan(iae)*.

4. Marble stele (0·50 × 0·36 × 0·007) inscribed on one face. Found in 1927, at Isola Farnese and preserved at the Villa of the Signori Sili at Prima Porta until the Second World War; now missing.

R. Paribeni, *Not. Scav.*, 1927, 372.

D(is) M(anibus)
P(ubli) Aeli Hermippi
Erotianus fratri[1]
karissimo fecit
uixit annis IIII mens(ibus) VII
diebus XIIII

[1] From their names, the brothers are likely to be freedmen or of freed origin, the patron probably being the emperor Hadrian. For another P. Aelius at Veii *cf. CIL*, XI, 7756, l. 8.

5. Upper part of a funerary altar of Luna marble (0·65 × 0·70 surviving × 0·36) inscribed on one face within a moulded border (panel, 0·485 × 0·39); on top at either side are bolsters, the right hand one terminating in a rosette at the front, the left hand one broken, flanking a broken lunette which contained a wreath with stiff ribbons depending from it; on the sides, jug and patera. Ploughed out in March 1959, near the entrance to the Cabrioli estate, to the R of the road; now standing on the wall of the courtyard in front of the farm-house.

First to second century capitals: ll. 1, 4, 0·045; l. 2, 0·05; l. 3, 0·04; l. 5, 0·038.

Pl. XXIII, *b* (after BSR 6 × 9. 4801).

D(is) M(anibus)
M(arci) Arrecini
Cesti
M(arcus) Arrecinus
5. Earinus[1]
fratri optimo
[. . .[2]

[1] This cognomen marks the brothers as of freedmen origin. Their praenomina and nomina suggest a connexion with the family of M. Arrecinus Clemens, cos 73.

[2] Traces of the next line are faintly visible—perhaps [fecit e]t si[bi].

6. Part of the top of an inscribed panel of Luna marble, moulded above (1·55 × 0·43). Found near the entrance to the estate of the Casale Due Torri on the road from the centre of the Roman town, to the R of the main ridgeway track; now built into the farm-house wall.

Letters, probably first century A.D.

Pl. XXII, *c* (after BSR 6 × 9. 4968).

T(itus) Fadius T(iti) l(ibertus) Teuc[er . . .
T(itus) Fadius Teucri [? l(ibertus) . . .[1]
[? . . .

[1] Probably a tombstone, erected to the freedman Teucer by his own freedman. Fadii have not been previously recorded at Veii, but they are not uncommon in Rome from the late Republic onwards and there is a scatter of them in Etruria and Umbria.

7. Upper part of a funerary altar of Luna marble (0·65 × 0·91 × 0·51) inscribed on one face within a moulded panel (0·38 × 0·25): above, between flanking bolsters, is a lunette containing the scar of a bust in a shell-shaped niche; on the L face, a sistrum, on the R a patera.[1] Found just inside the North-west Gate of Veii, beside the main road; now in the courtyard of the castle at Isola Farnese.

Second to third century letters, modelled on Rustics: ll. 1, 3, 0·045; l. 2, 0·04.

Pl. XXIII, *a* (after BSR 6 × 9. 3582).

Dis manibu̯[s]
Marciae Suç[. . .]
[.]I̯F[2] MI̯NA̯[. . *c.* 6 . .]
[. . .

[1] Suggesting that the subject was a priestess of Isis.
[2] Possibly Suç[ces/sa]e̯. The letters that follow may be from the nomen of the husband or other relative who erected the monument.

Instrumentum Domesticum

8. Dolium rim stamped with an inscription in a rectangular frame (0·048 × 0·025). Found on the site of the town of Veii; now in the British School at Rome.

Pl. XXIII, *c* (after BSR 6 × 9. 3143).

The letter C followed by a stop, and the letters PL and OT, both ligatured; perhaps for C(aii) Plot(i)

APPENDIX III

VEII, AUTUMN 1960: THE LATEST FINDS

During the autumn of 1960 ploughing revealed a large number of fresh features on the site of Veii itself and in the adjoining cemeteries. So far as possible this information has been incorporated in the maps and plans that accompany this article; but since the value of such topographical information is often proportionate to its detail, it has also seemed worth while to include, as an appendix, a fairly full summary of the observations made on each site. At the very least it may serve a practical purpose in controlling future agricultural work. Had some such information been already available in readily accessible form, much of the destruction recorded might well not have taken place.

1. *The Etruscan and Roman Cities*

Macchia Grande.—On the plateau of Veii itself the most important observations were made within the area of the Macchia Grande, where ploughing revealed the sites of a number of Etruscan houses alongside that of a large Roman villa (fig. 27).

Many of the Etruscan houses were evidently substantial structures of which the lower parts at any rate of the walls were built of large, regularly squared blocks of local tufa. Groups of such blocks had been dragged to the surface by the plough over an area of some 150 × 180 m. along the crest and upper slopes of the ridge that projects north-eastward between the Ponte Sodo and the North-east Gate; and in the short interval between the ploughing and the destruction of these blocks by the farmer it was possible to make an accurate plan of their location. A rapid resistivity survey by Dr. Theodor Schwarz confirmed that substantial stretches of walling still remain in position below the surface, and in the one case that could be examined in any detail within the time available it appeared to indicate the presence of a rectangular building, measuring approximately 12 × 13 m. (fig. 28). These results clearly require confirmation by excavation. They do,

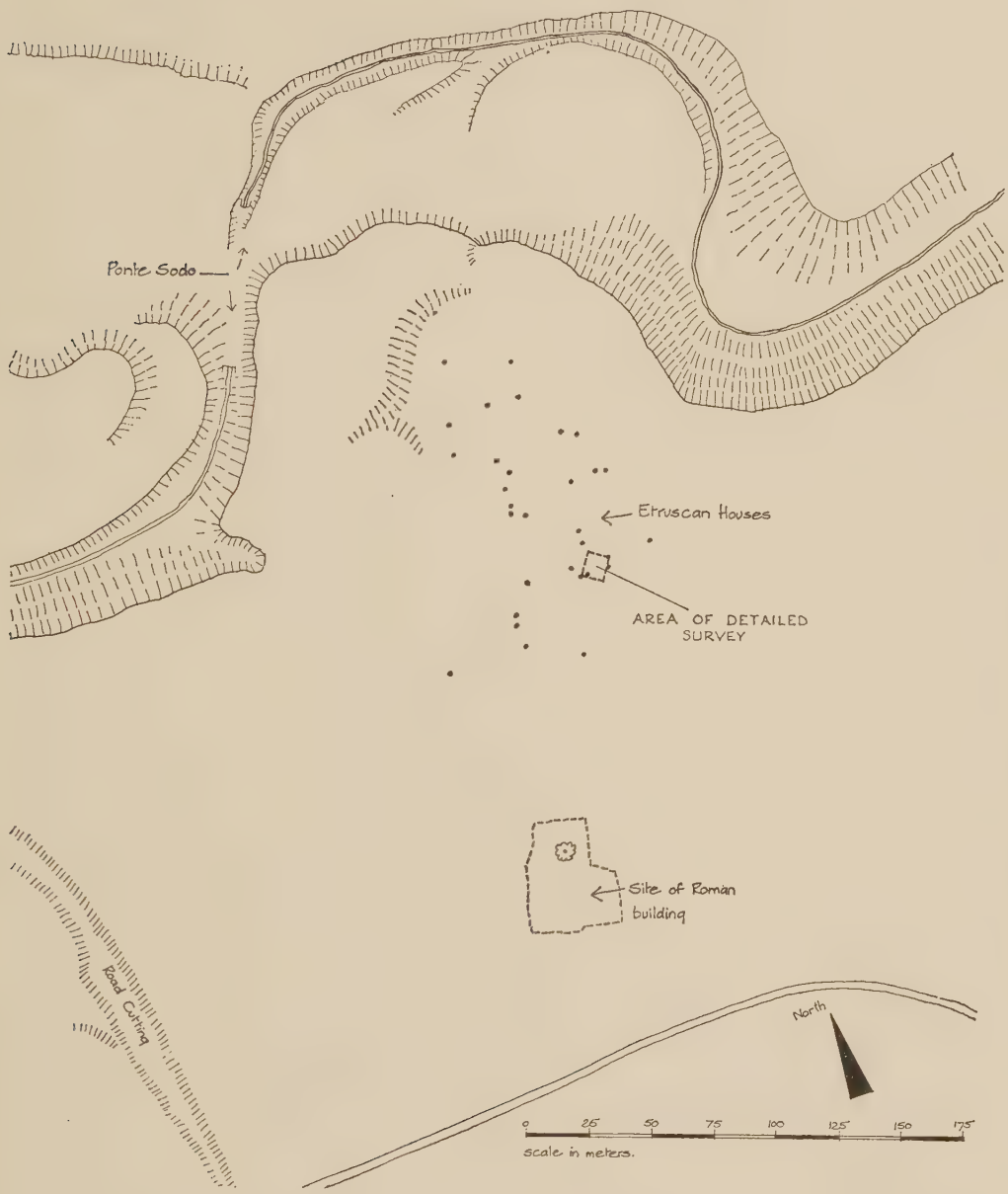


FIG. 27. REMAINS OF ETRUSCAN HOUSES AND A ROMAN VILLA PLOUGHED OUT IN THE MACCHIA GRANDE, AUTUMN 1960

however, suggest that such excavation would be rewarding and might well reveal the remains of Etruscan houses of which the lower levels are still intact and uncontaminated by later disturbance. Apart from a few isolated Villanovan sherds in the upper part of the site, and a very few Roman sherds, no doubt strays from the nearby villa, the associated pottery was homogeneous, with domestic impasto and bucchero predominating. The almost complete absence of daub suggests that the superstructures of the houses were either of mud brick or of timber.

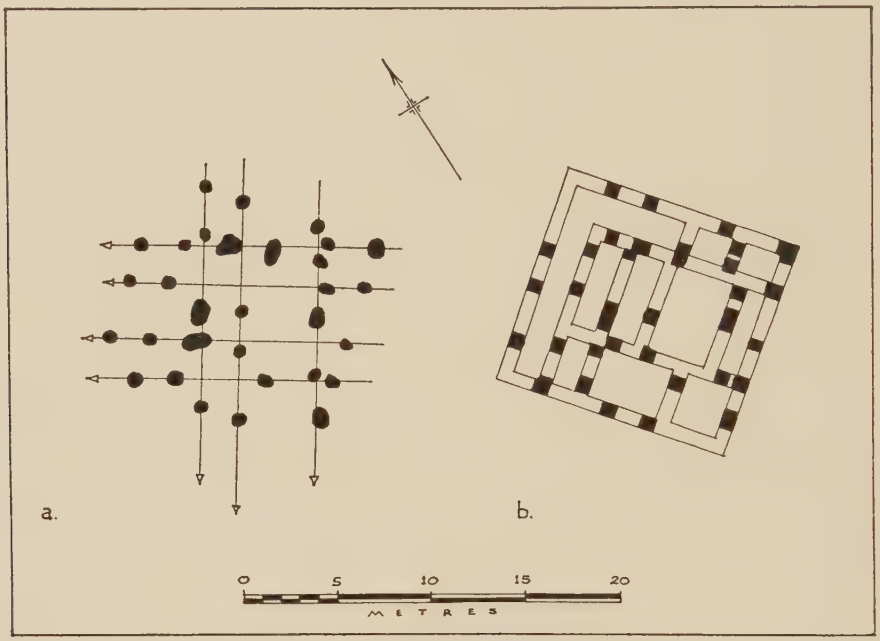


FIG. 28. (*Left*) DIAGRAM BASED ON A RESISTIVITY SURVEY MADE BY DR. THEODOR SCHWARZ IN THE MACCHIA GRANDE, AUTUMN 1960 (*cf.* fig. 27); and (*right*) SUPPOSED OUTLINE OF THE WALLS OF AN ETRUSCAN HOUSE

The villa was characteristically sited on the highest point of the ridge, about 100 m. to the left of the modern track. The site is clearly visible on the air photograph (pl. VIII) as a splash of white (the mortar debris from the destroyed masonry). On the ground it is marked by a single oak tree, the solitary survivor of the *macchia* which until recently covered the whole area.

Casale Cabrioli.—The field to the south-east of the road-cutting leading down to the North-east Gate was also ploughed. Here the remains exposed were less homogeneous. They included at least one Etruscan house-site similar to those described above, and several other groups of Etruscan pottery that were not associated with any specific structure, although in one case there were several fragments of daub. Either the houses here have been thoroughly destroyed by cultivation, or else some of them were less substantial in the first instance. There are the remains of a sizable Roman building near the west corner of the field, associated with a great deal of black-glazed (but very little later) pottery.

2. *The Cemeteries*

(*a*) *Grotta Gramiccia* (see pp. 24, 42)

The continued agricultural development of the Grotta Gramiccia area, including the construction of four new farm-houses and the deep ploughing of several areas on either side of the old ridgeway road to Nepi, disclosed a large number of fresh antiquities, all of them associated with the cemeteries with which this whole area was once almost continuously covered (fig. 29).

While broadly confirming the previous surface indications, the most recent finds add some interesting details to the picture of the historical development of these cemeteries, in particular in their earlier stages. There seems to have been two main agglomerations of Villanovan graves,

one ('Grotta Gramiccia East') on the crest and upper slopes of the higher ground that lies immediately to the east of the early road, on the site of the farm-house built four or five years ago (*PBSR*, xxvii, 1959, pl. IX, *right*), the other ('Grotta Gramiccia West') on the flattened crest of the knoll immediately to the west of the same road, in the angle between it and the modern Formello road (*ibid.*, pl. IX, *left*). In addition to these two main Villanovan nuclei (of which the first, to

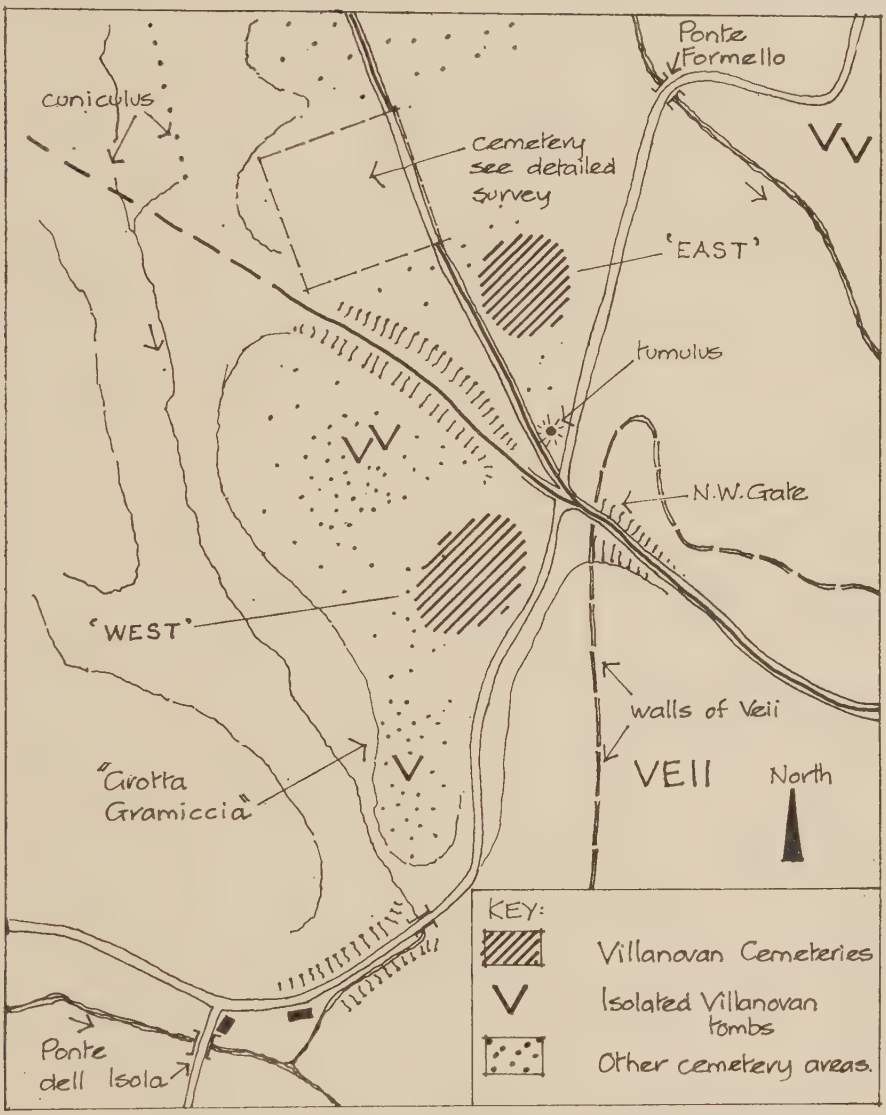


FIG. 29. GROTTA GRAMICCIA: SKETCH-MAP OF THE CEMETERY AREA

judge from the widespread but fragmentary nature of the surviving remains, was perhaps that principally explored by Giglioli) there were at least two smaller groups of Villanovan burials, one just to the north of 'Grotta Gramiccia West,' beside the farm-house built during the winter of 1960–61, the other 200 m. further to the north, as well as a certain number of individual outlying graves. These smaller groups, of which the second appears to be a late development, served as the centres for the subsequent expansion of the cemetery as a whole, which can thus be seen to

have started as a series of related but discontinuous units and only later to have apread so as to cover almost the entire area.

The siting of these early cemeteries confirms the relatively late date of the Vulci-Tarquinia road. None of the early graves are specifically related to it, and the first 150 m. of it may in fact very weell have been cut through already existing cemeteries. If there are any graves associated with this road, they probably take the form of chamber tombs on the lower slopes, which would have been unlikely to have come to light in the course of the recent agricultural work.

1. *'Grotta Gramiccia West' Villanovan cemetery.*—In November 1960, Dr. Theodor Schwarz received permission to undertake a series of trial surveys with a portable resistivity apparatus with which he was experimenting. One of these trials was undertaken within the area of the westernmost of the two main Villanovan cemeteries ('Grotta Gramiccia West'; see fig. 29), and after the survey readings had revealed a number of apparently significant anomalies, permission was further granted for the School to conduct a small sample excavation. The result of two days' work was to expose the remains of six characteristic Villanovan graves, and to confirm that despite the extensive destruction of the upper levels of this cemetery in recent years much is still intact and would repay systematic exploration.

The full details of this small excavation are still awaited, but it will probably be useful to put on record without delay a few features of a general character and to list the objects found. It is quite evident, for example (see fig. 30), that the ground level in antiquity was at least 70–80 cm. higher on the crest of the hill than it is today, some 20–30 cm. of this having been accounted for in the last few years. This is a phenomenon common to the whole of Veii, and indeed to the whole of the tufa country of Southern Etruria. It is inevitably the more dramatic aspects of the destruction of antiquity, by building, mechanical levelling and the deep ploughing of areas hitherto under grass, which attract the most attention. The action of ordinary year-to-year cultivation, though less conspicuous, is however in the long run hardly less disastrous. Only on flat ground, or else where there is a deep layer of humus overlying the archaeological level (as there is, for example, on many of the lower slopes and in the valleys), are the latter more or less securely protected. On rolling ground, such as one finds over most of the Ager Veientanus, a substantial layer of humus is transferred from the higher to the lower ground every time the fields are ploughed. It can be shown that this was already happening in Roman times, and it is an important factor in assessing the distribution of known pre-Roman sites. It is now happening again all over Veii. The destruction recorded below from the Casale del Fosso and Quattro Fontanili cemeteries was due to deep tractor-ploughing. That on the Macchia Grande and here in the 'Grotta Gramiccia West' Villanovan cemetery arises from the more insidious, but in the long run hardly less disastrous, processes of ordinary cultivation.

The graves themselves call for little comment. One of the better preserved (GG.204) consisted of a narrow cylindrical shaft, so very nearly of the same diameter as the urn within it that it was quite impossible to extract the latter without destroying the shaft itself. It had been packed with stiff, brownish yellow clay and sealed with a group of small, flat stones. Another (GG.205) was rather larger and had been neatly packed with small stones and sealed with a larger, roughly squared slab. To judge from the number of small stones found scattered by the plough, the latter was a common disposition. The section (fig. 30) gives clear evidence of a chronological succession.

The contents of the six graves, two of them fragmentary, are hardly sufficient to justify useful generalisation. The fact that three of the urns were covered with conical 'helmets' may or may not prove to be characteristic of the cemetery as a whole. The absence of supplementary grave furniture is, on the other hand, probably significant. It is confirmed by the simplicity of the material found scattered on the surface after ploughing and is in marked contrast to the relative wealth of some of the graves excavated in the Grotta Gramiccia area by Giglioli, possibly in 'Grotta Gramiccia East.' The only surface objects so far recovered, other than the fragmentary remains of cinerary urns and burnt bronze rings and fibulae, are a pair of bronze horses' bits (pl. XXVII, *a*).

(Note: with the exception of 1, which is of a rather poor impasto, with a reddish fracture, all the following pots are of a quite good, black impasto, with a variously preserved burnished, dark brown or black surface. The numbers in brackets are the inventory numbers given when the site was first surveyed.)

1 (GG.204 *bis*). Urn only. Ht. 36 cm. (to junction of neck and body, approx. 18). Max. diam. 27; at lip, 21. Single, deeply scalloped handle, slightly upturned; at the neck a pronounced cordon. The shoulder is barely perceptible, but the foot is well marked. The form is generally slack and baglike, and the shape markedly irregular (pl. XXIV, *a*).

Decoration. The decoration, though ambitious, is poorly laid out and carelessly executed. It combines combing with cord impression and large impressed dots.

Zone 1 (upper neck). Discontinuous stepped maeander (*i.e.* a frieze of interlocking rectangular Zs) between two horizontal bands of combing. Below, a pendant fringe of scored triangles, with terminal dots; above, on the cordon, short oblique lines of cord impression.

Zone 2 (lower neck). Plain except for a band of discontinuous chevrons between two pairs of horizontal scored lines, ending in two triangular groups of impressed dots just above the handle.

Zone 3 (body). A crude chevron design of interlocking Vs (a poor version of that on 5).

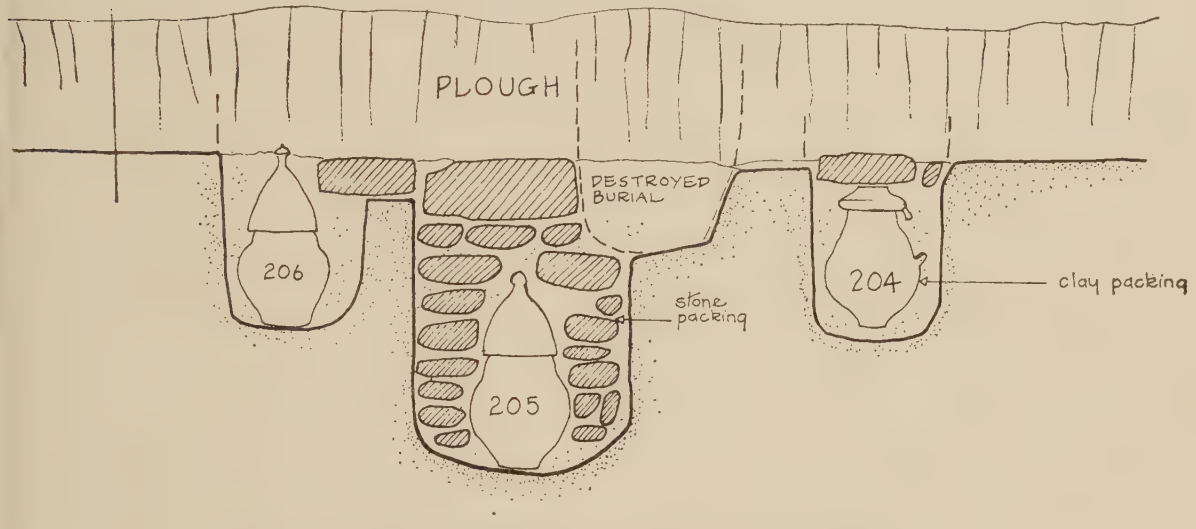


FIG. 30. GROTTA GRAMICCIA: SECTION OF A SMALL TRIAL EXCAVATION UNDERTAKEN IN THE 'GROTTA GRAMICCIA WEST' VILLANOVAN CEMETERY

2 (GG.202). Urn and fragments of a helmet lid. Urn, ht. 36 cm. (to junction of neck and body, 21). Max. diam. 30; at lip, 19·5. Single, deeply scalloped handle, slightly upturned. Well marked shoulder but no foot. The helmet-shaped lid was conical, rising to finial which is missing (pl. XXV).

Decoration.—The decoration is bold and effective, combining combing with large impressed dots; no cord impression.

Zone 1 (upper neck). Discontinuous stepped maeander between two broad horizontal bands of combing, with a band of impressed dots below.

Zone 2 (lower neck). Band of horizontal combing terminating above the handle in a symmetrical pair of curvilinear Y motifs.

Zone 3 (body). Seven almost identical square panels, each consisting of a double frame of combing, with hatching between and impressed dots at the angles, and a central, obliquely placed swastika motif.

The lid was decorated with an applied metallic substance (lead?) which at first sight resembles paint and is now heavily overlaid with deposit. The visible elements suggest 3 or 4 large trapezoidal panels with variously hatched borders and a central motif, *i.e.* something closely akin to the pattern on the body of the urn (pl. XXVII, *b*).

3 (GG.203). Shallow and almost completely destroyed. Only indeterminate sherds from the base of the urn.

4 (GG.204). Urn and bowl-shaped lid. Urn, ht. 33·5 cm. (to junction of neck and body 18·5). Max. diam. 31·2; at lip, 19·8. Single, plain handle, upturned. Well marked shoulder and distinct foot. The lid consists of an open, shouldered dish with a single, plain, vertical handle; 3 narrow vertical lugs running from lip to shoulder. Ht. 10·4 cm.; diam. at shoulder 26·4 cm. Pl. XXIV, *b*.

Decoration.—Bold but rather careless, a combination of combing and cord impression.

Zone 1 (upper neck). Continuous stepped maeander (*i.e.* as 1, but linked into a continuous running line) framed by bands of cord-impressed ornament. Above, short oblique lines; below interlocking triangles.

Zone 2 (lower neck). Plain.

Zone 3 (body). A running design of filled chevrons.

5 (GG.205). Urn and helmet lid. Urn, ht. 33·2 cm. (to junction of neck and body 19·8). Max. diam. 28·8; at lip, 19. Single, slightly scalloped handle, upturned. Shoulder barely perceptible and foot slight. Bulbous helmet lid with a hemispherical terminal knob. Ht. 24·6 cm. (to base of finial 19); diam. 23–25 cm. Pl. XXVI, *a*.

Decoration.—Similar to 2, but more carelessly and sketchily applied. Combing and some cord impression.

Zone 1 (upper neck). Continuous stepped maeander between horizontal bands (as on 4). Above, a narrow band of short, oblique, cord-impressed lines; below, a pendant fringe of scored triangles.

Zone 2 (lower neck). Plain except for a band of short, oblique, cord-impressed lines which end up against the handle.

Zone 3 (body). Six square panels, each consisting of a double frame of combing, with cord-impressed hatching between, and in the centre various motifs, including swastikas and diagonal interlaces.

Lid. Four square panels, as on the body, between two horizontal bands of discontinuous chevron design, the upper one framed between two horizontal bands. At the base of the finial a band of pendent triangles. On the knob a cruciform motif.

6 (GG.206). Urn and helmet lid. Urn, ht. approx. 35 cm. (to junction of neck and body 19·6). Max. diam. 26·8; lip perished. Single, unusually small, plain handle, upturned; bulbous shoulder and slight foot. Conical helmet lid with a convex, ridged terminal. Ht. 24·4 cm. (to base of finial 19·6); diam. 20·4. Pl. XXVI, *b*.

Decoration.—Careless and in places very shallow, particularly on the lid. Combing and shallow scoring only.

Zone 1 (upper neck). Continuous stepped maeander (as on 4) framed between horizontal bands of combing, with a simple fringe of scored triangles below.

Zone 2 (lower neck). A horizontal combed band all the way round the point of junction, breaking off just above the handle.

Zone 3 (body). Six square panels and one narrower, rectangular panel up against the handle, where the potter has miscalculated the space available. Each panel consists of a double frame of combing with a rather haphazard, obliquely placed, cruciform design in the centre.

Helmet. Five square panels, as on the body, between zones (one above, two below) of triangles framed between horizontal bands of combing. There is a ring of impressed dots around the upper surface of the terminal knob, which has a central ridge.

Of the objects found on the surface after ploughing the only ones deserving illustration are two bronze snaffle-bits (pl. XXVII, *a*). Both are substantially complete except for one of the terminal rings. The mouthpieces are made of two broad strips of bronze twisted round each other, and one of them had perhaps been repaired in antiquity, since the cheekpiece that is now detached is far shorter than the three that are still in place. The total length of the mouthpiece is 16·2 and 19·5 cm., respectively. The maximum span of the mouthpieces between the cheekpieces of the former is, however, only 12·2 cm.

2. *The area to the north and west of the 'Grotta Gramiccia West' Villanovan cemetery.*—The whole area of higher ground in the angle between the modern Formello road and the Fosso di Grotta Gramiccia was ploughed, though not deeply, in the autumn of 1960; and during the winter a new farm-house was built on the crest of the hill immediately to the north of 'Grotta Gramiccia West,' overlooking the cutting of the Vulci-Tarquinia road. In neither case were the conditions favourable for precise observation, an unusually wet autumn having reduced the farmhouse site to a sea of mud. So far as could be determined the farm-house itself stood on relatively undisturbed ground. But there were certainly graves all round, including a number of Villanovan sherds immediately to the west and north-west of it. An isolated Villanovan grave, contained in a cylindrical stone container, was ploughed out about 150 m. to the south-west, at the point where the nose of the ridge dips sharply towards the modern road-bridge over the Fosso di Grotta Gramiccia.

3. *The more distant cemeteries to the west of the Nepi road (Area 'GGX').*—The area beyond the narrowest point of the ridge on the left-hand side of the Nepi road, about 250 m. north-west of the North-west Gate, was deeply tractor-ploughed in the autumn of 1960, dragging to the surface a number of funerary chests and capstones of tufa and a quantity of pottery (figs. 32–35). The area exposed occupies the crest of the ridge immediately to the left of the road, running down the crest in a southwesterly direction and extending a short distance to either side of it. On the analogy of the Quattro Fontanili cemetery, the lower ground, with its deeper covering of humus, may have escaped destruction.

By the time this area was observed and surveyed the remains had already been exposed for some time, and some of the better-preserved material may already have been removed. This was, however, one of the areas in which Malavolta is known to have been active on behalf of Giglioli, and it is also possible therefore that many of the graves exposed had been previously excavated.

Two large ridged capstones (2, 11) proved on clearance to have been associated with large rectangular *fossa* graves, one plain and one with a small lateral loculus, both already looted, apparently in antiquity.

Although there are few significant associations, the general character of this part of the Grotta Gramiccia cemetery is quite clear. The earliest features were a few scattered and possibly very late Villanovan graves, and thereafter the material seems to be continuous through the immediately succeeding period, with a preponderance of finer-quality impasto wares, including ossuaries and other vessels of red impasto, and a small quantity of Italo-geometric. Within the area examined there was no bucchero.

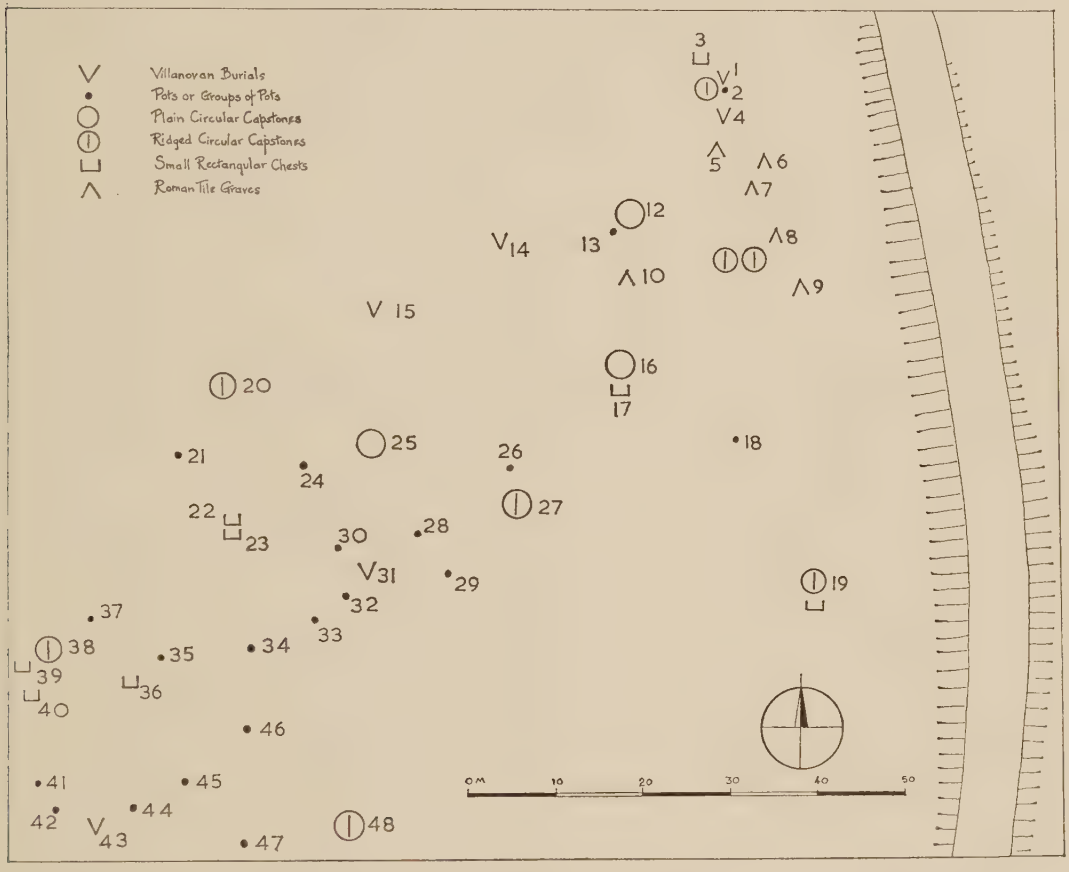


Fig. 31. Grotta Gramiccia: Detailed Plan (*cf.* fig. 29) of Outlying Cemetery Area ('GGX') Ploughed Out to the West of the Nepi Road

A very distinctive type of vessel represented within the group is the open bowl, with a sharp, angular shoulder and cord-impressed ornament (as fig. 34, 43). Another recurrent feature is that of the radiating grooves on the inner face (fig. 34, 1 and 41). Both these features recur, for example, in the Casale del Fosso cemetery, p. 99. The vigorously incised ornament of 4, 45 and 46, *c*, appears to be characteristic of the latest Villanovan and transitional wares.

(*Note: the numbers in brackets after the serial numbers are the inventory numbers given when the site was first surveyed.*)

1 (GGX.109). Base and body sherds of a large vessel of plain, dark brown impasto, probably the base of a Villanovan cinerary urn; also sherds from a Villanovan helmet lid of bright red impasto with a deep burnished surface, decorated with broad bands of an applied metallic substance (*cf.* Grotta Gramiccia West, no. 2, p. 93), on which can be discerned traces of a decorative scheme of cord-impressed lines and concentric, stud-like rings. Lying beside it, but probably from a different grave, a small cup of dark ware imitating bucchero, lacking its handle (fig. 34).

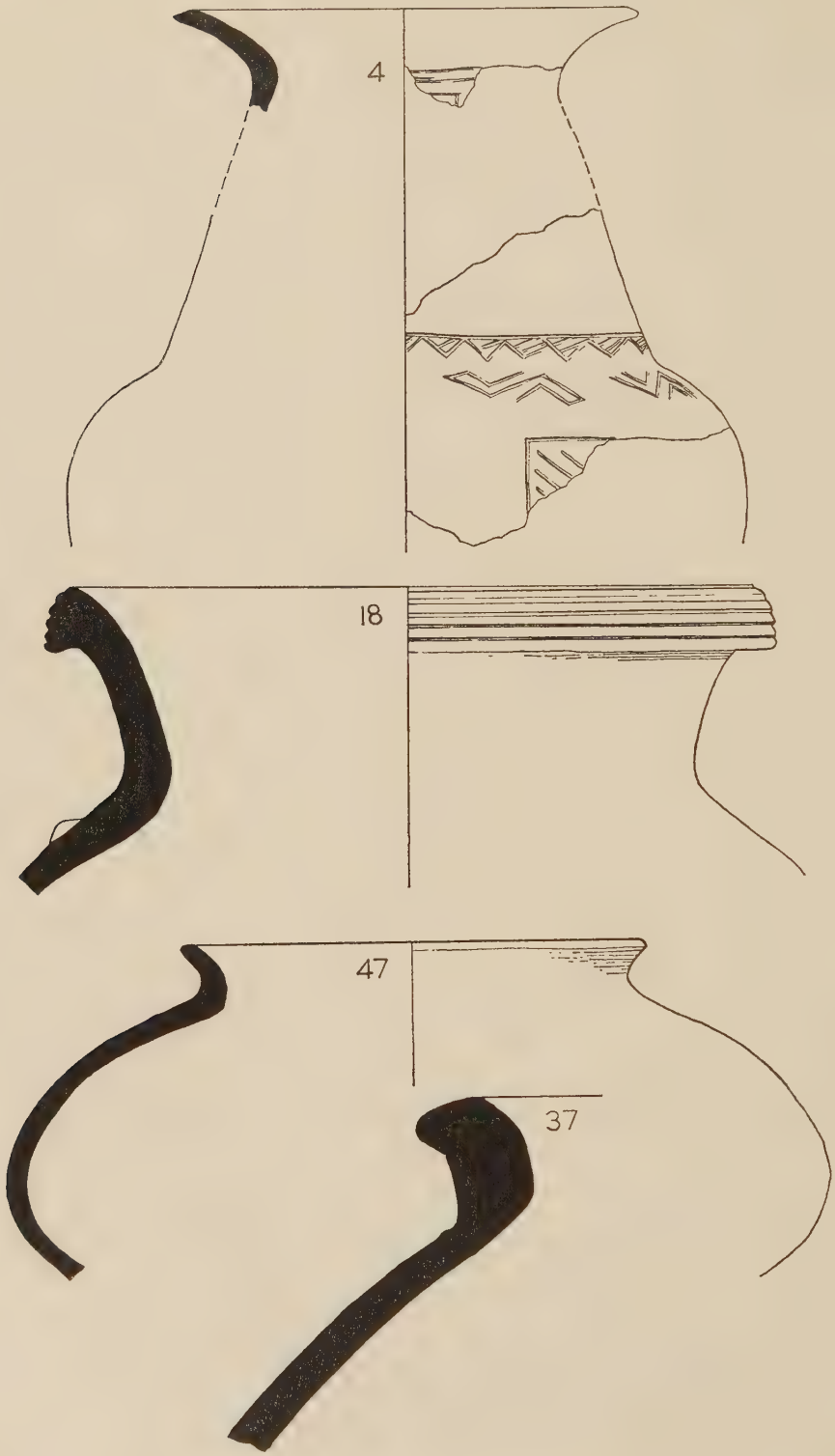


FIG. 32. GROTTA GRAMICCIA: POTTERY FROM THE 'GGX' CEMETERY AREA (*cf.* fig. 31) (Scale 1:3)
(*Note*: the numbers are those of the individual groups listed on pp. 95–99)

2 (GGX.109 *bis*). Large, plain, rectangular *fossa* grave (3·00 × 1·20 × 2·40 deep; no loculus), found looted except for the disintegrated remains of a bronze sword, the wooden handle of which had been bound with bronze wire. Overturned beside it a large ridged circular capstone of hard grey-brown tufa (fig. 35).

3. For this and other small rectangular chests not individually listed, see summary at the end of this section.

4 (GGX.110). Neck and shoulder of a decorated Villanovan cinerary urn, of reddish impasto internally and burnished black externally, with incised decoration; in the incisions are traces of a white inlaid substance (fig. 32; pl. XXVIII, *b*).

5–10. Remains of tile graves *a cappuccina*, of the Roman period, perhaps related to the nearby Roman villa.

11 (GGX.114). Large, rectangular *fossa* grave with a single lateral *loculus* at floor level towards the east end of the north side; found looted, with the closure slab of the loculus fallen forward into the body of the grave. Overturned beside the grave a large ridged circular capstone of hard, grey-brown tufa (fig. 35). The only contents preserved were a stemmed cup of highly polished, light red impasto, with two holes in the rim and the inscribed letter M (fig. 34); a small biconical jug of dark brown impasto with a broad, flat handle; and the corroded remains of an iron knife.

Close beside this grave was a fragment of a second capstone of the same materials and shape.

12 (GGX.147). Plain circular tufa capstone.

13 (GGX.101). Group of impasto sherds, including two handles: a double-looped handle (fig. 34) from a shouldered cup of red ware, formerly impasto-surfaced; and part of the body and simple loop handle of a globular jug of brown impasto.

14 (GGX.111). Base of a Villanovan cinerary urn, found together with a small disc-shaped lid of tufa, a facetted impasto spindle whorl and fragments of a badly burnt bronze fibula.

15 (GGX.151). Three sherds from the shoulder of a decorated Villanovan cinerary urn (pl. XXVIII, *a*). There is the stump of a handle, which has been broken off and smoothed over before firing.

16, 17. See below.

18 (GGX.152). Rim of a large storage jar of coarse red ware with the remains of a red impasto surface (fig. 32).

19, 20. See below.

21 (GGX.136). Fragments of a group of pots, almost certainly from a single burial:

(*a*) Large open cup with inturned lip, two handles with slashed ornament, well marked shoulder with cordons above and tall, flaring pedestal; on the inner face 6–7 broad radiating grooves. Light brown impasto surface over a grey core (fig. 33).
(*b*) Small biconical cup of dark brown impasto, with loop handle and 4 stepped cordons on the neck (fig. 33).
(*c*) Shouldered cup of dark brown impasto, with a broad, double-looped handle and a relief ornament on the shoulder; on the inner face 16–18 narrow radiating grooves (fig. 33).
(*d*) Cup of fine-quality, dark grey impasto, with prominent, relief-ornamented shoulder and single (?) loop handle (now incomplete) (fig. 33).
(*e*) Small, plain, open bowl of red ware with a light orange impasto surface; simple, flattened base and a marked groove on the upper edge of the rim (fig. 33).
(*f*) Two vertical handles, both of brown impasto (fig. 33 and another resembling fig. 37, 15, *b*).
(*g*) Fragments of a small, radially grooved, red impasto vessel.

22, 23. See below.

24 (GGX.118). Body sherds of an impasto bowl.

25 (GGX.103). Neatly cut, plain circular capstone of grey-brown tufa, diam. 0·64, thickness 0·05; rim sherd of a large plain jar of poor red impasto, with simple out-turned rim, diam. 0·18; and shoulder of an open, shouldered bowl with shallow vertical rilling between rim and shoulder.

26 (GGX.120). Small shouldered bowl of dark brown impasto, lacking handle.

27. See below.

28 (GGX.153). Shallow cup with inturned rim, small horizontal handle, and dimpled base; there are traces of a boss or some other projecting feature, now missing, on the shoulder almost, but not directly, opposite the handle. On the handle and on the body, traces of decoration in an applied greyish metallic substance similar to that used on many of the Villanovan vessels from Veii (fig. 33); *cf.* p. 93, no. 2 (lid). Also coarse jar of heavy brown impasto with a boss on the shoulder.

29 (GGX.143). Cup of light brown impasto, with a sharp angular shoulder and narrow vertical rim diam. 0·29.

30 (GGX.137). Part of the neck (ht. 0·09) of an oenochoe, with trilobed mouth and tall shoulders, in friable white ware with traces of red paint. Also the neck and shoulder of a small cup of reddish brown ware (perhaps originally with a burnished surface) with cord-impressed ornament on the shoulder and handle and a row of deeper impressions on the shoulder (fig. 34).

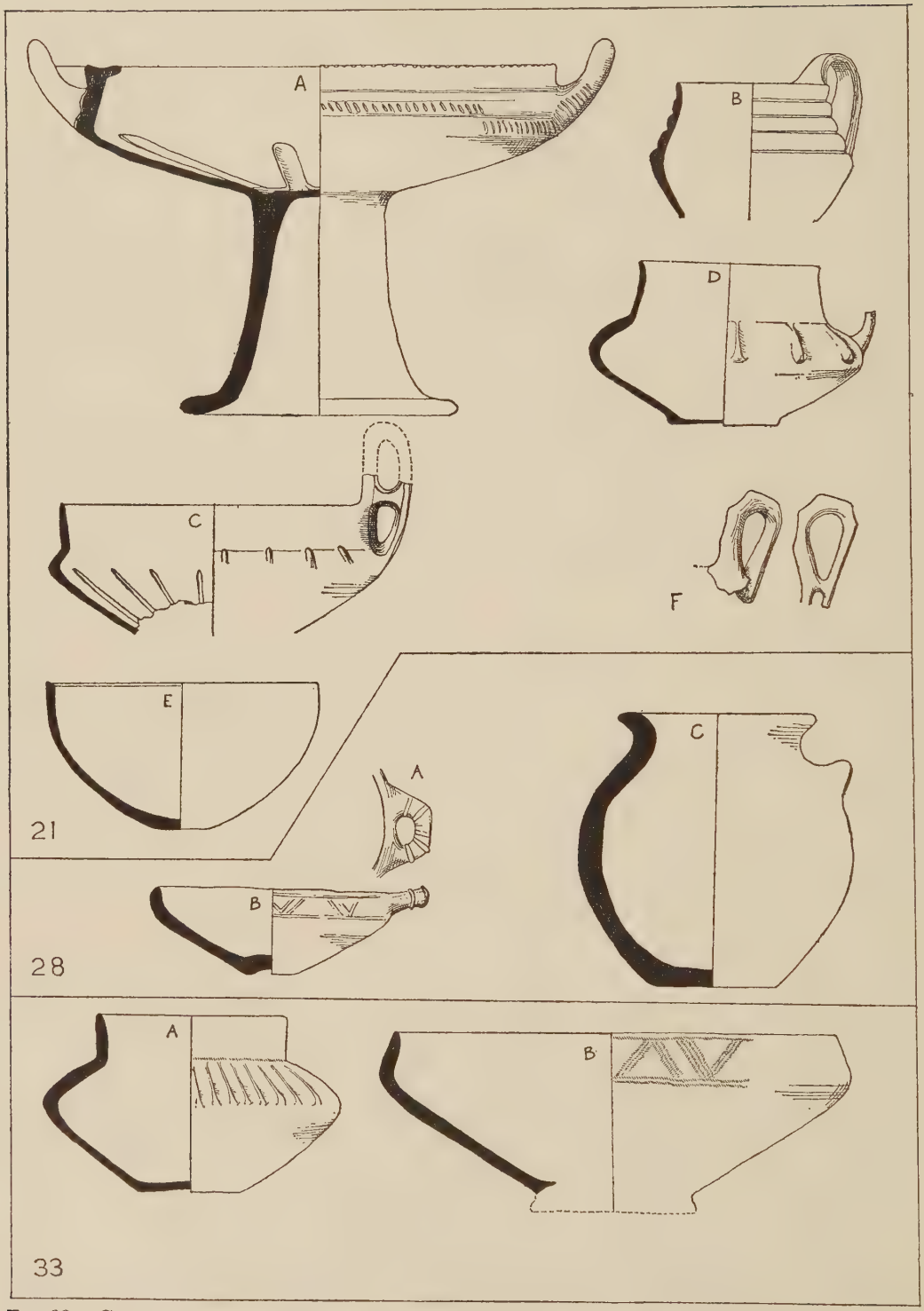


FIG. 33. GROTTA GRAMICCIA: POTTERY FROM THE 'GGX' CEMETERY AREA (*cf.* fig. 31) (Scale 1:3)
(*Note*: the numbers are those of individual groups listed on pp. 95–99)

31 (GGX.138). Group of sherds from three distinct vessels, possibly representing two distinct burials: a large, plain vessel of Villanovan-type dark impasto; the handle of a cup of friable white ware; and body sherds of a red impasto vessel.

32 (GGX.139). Base of an open dish of dark brown impasto with a red core; small shouldered cup, similar to 46, handle missing; and body sherds of a red impasto bowl or jar.

33 (GGX.140). Shouldered cup of good-quality brown impasto, with narrow, vertical neck and slightly oblique fluting on shoulder, and open bowl, similar to 43; handles missing (fig. 33).

34 (GGX.141). Open bowl of dark brown impasto, similar to 43. Also handle of a small cup of dark brown impasto with cord-impressed ornament, very similar to 30.

35 (GGX.135). Large globular urn of poor-quality red impasto, with two horizontal rilled handles, neck not preserved.

36. See below.

37 (GGX.104). Neck of a large jar of coarse grey-black ware with reddish brown impasto surface.

38, 39. See below.

40 (GGX.128). Small rectangular chest of brown tufa (length, 1·11 × breadth 0·50) and sherds of two distinct vessels:

(*a*) Open dish in dark impasto, similar to 43.
(*b*) Neck of a small globular jug of the same ware.

41 (GGX.130). Kylix of pale brown impasto with shallow slashed decoration on the handles and 12 radiating grooves on the inner face (fig. 34).

42 (GGX.134). Shoulder of an open bowl, of the same form as 43.

43 (GGX.127). Open bowl of dark brown impasto with sharp angular shoulder, raised loop handle with shallow slashed ornament, and impressed corded ornament between the shoulder and the rim. The inside is burnished towards the centre (fig. 34).

44 (GGX.133). Italo-geometric jug with narrow conical neck, globular body and single loop handle; pale pinkish buff ware, painted with horizontal bands on the neck and the lower part of the body and a zone of concentric circles at the shoulder; paint mainly dark purplish brown but a patch of light red differently fired just below the handle (fig. 34).

45 (GGX.132). Small globular cup of rather heavy, grey-cored pale brown impasto with single-looped handle. There are two bands of incised ornament, zig-zags at the neck and a simple maeander on the body, with traces of white filling (fig. 34). For the ornament, *cf.* 4b (*c*).

46 (GGX.155).

(*a*) Small shouldered cup of pale grey-brown impasto with double-looped handle and a series of bosses on the shoulder (fig. 34).
(*b*) Bowl of dark brown impasto with inturned rim and low pedestal base, and several small bosses just above the shoulder (fig. 34). The surviving handle (one of a pair?) is upturned with two distinct prongs.
(*c*) Low pedestal base, of the same ware as 45 and similarly ornamented with an incised maeander.

47 (GGX.146). Body fragments of a very large red impasto jar; and the neck and shoulder of a smaller red impasto jar of flattened globular form (fig. 32).

48. See below.

19, 20, 38, 48. Circular ridged capstones of the same general form as 2 and 11 (fig. 35). See also pp. 44–46.

3, 17, 19, 22, 23, 36, 39. Small rectangular chests, cut in a variety of tufas and ranging in size from 0·72 × 0·37 × 0·24 to 0·94 × 0·40 × 0·27. Only in a few cases were there any associated sherds, and it seems likely that many come from graves that had been looted already, either in antiquity or in recent times.

(*b*) *Casale del Fosso* (see p. 42)

(*Note: the numbers in brackets are the inventory numbers of the sherds collected*)

Another area that was deep-ploughed during the autumn of 1960 was the eastern extremity of the ridge of high ground that overlooks the Via Formello from the north, extending eastwards from the Casale del Fosso to the west bank of the Fosso di Grotta Gramiccia. Over the greater part of the area the ploughing revealed surprisingly little—suprisingly, since it almost certainly covered a part at any rate of the Casale del Fosso cemetery excavated by Colini. A possible explanation lies in the character of the graves explored by Colini (*Not. Scav.*, 1919, p. 7: 'Vi si rinvennero poche tombe a pozzo e non delle primitive: più comuni vi erano le fosse con piccolo loculo votivo. Ma ciò che caratterizzava questo sepolcreto erano le fosse con grandi loculi sepolcrali'). Such deeply trenched graves are far less vulnerable to mechanical ploughing than the shallower graves of earlier practice. It is also probable that the cemetery was less continuous than Colini's

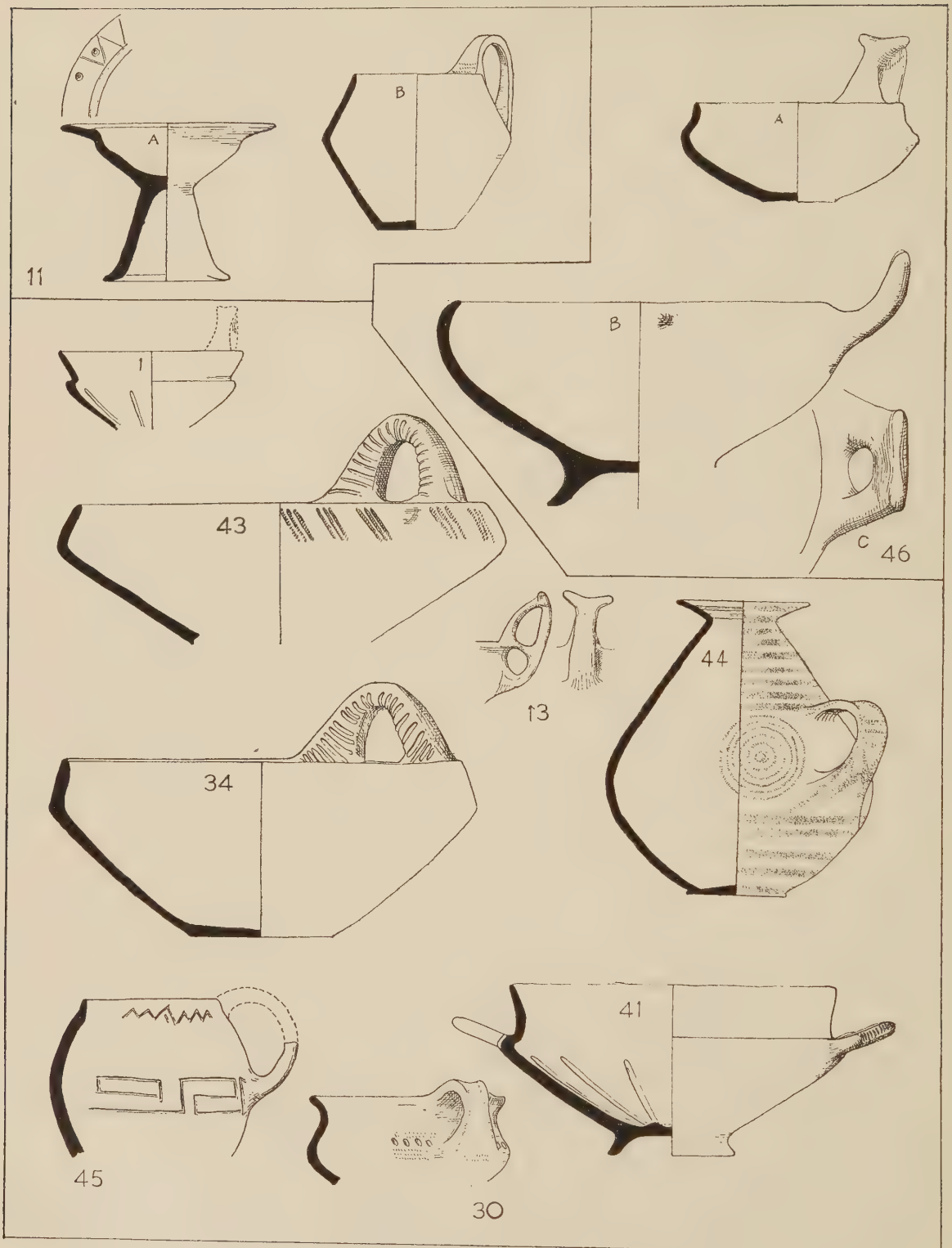


FIG. 34. GROTTA GRAMICCIA: POTTERY FROM THE 'GGX' CEMETERY AREA (*cf.* fig. 31) (Scale 1:3)
(*Note:* the numbers are those of the individual groups listed on pp. 95–99.

very brief account might be taken to suggest. There was certainly an early nucleus just across the bridge from Veii, presumably on the lower ground near the nose of the promontory, an area that has been under cultivation for several years (*ibid.*, p. 6 : it may even have contained a single Villanovan grave, 'un pozzetto primitivo'). The next early nucleus appears to have lain some 300 m. to the west, where a small reentrant valley provides easy access from the Piordo valley to the high ground

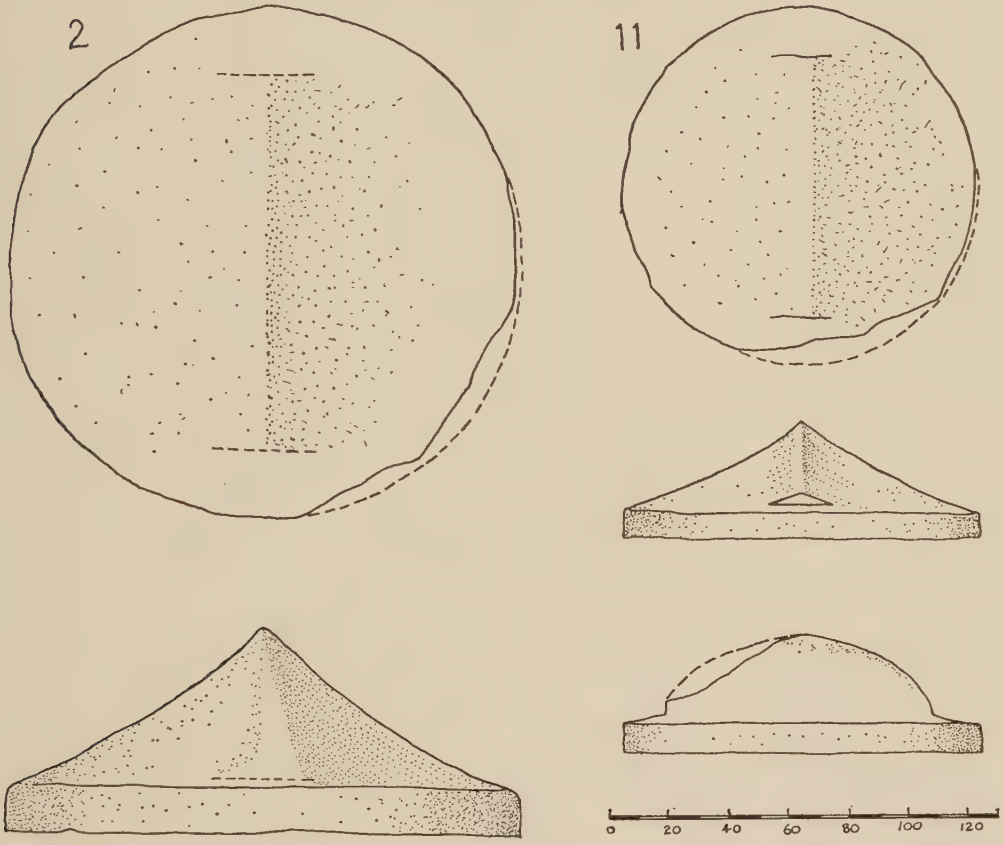


Fig. 35. Grotta Gramiccia: Capstones from the 'GGX' Cemetery Area (*cf.* fig. 31)

of the plateau to the north. This lay at the extreme western limit of the 1960 programme of deep ploughing, and the concentration of ploughed-out material from the crest and upper southward-facing slopes in this area is in striking and significant contrast to the relative scarcity of finds elsewhere (fig. 36).

The finds consist of a number of stone capstones and containers of various shapes as well as scattered groups of pottery (fig. 37). The range of wares closely resembles that from the outlying Grotta Gramiccia cemetery to the west of the Nepi road (pp. 95–99), lacking only the few Villanovan and transitional pieces. There can be little doubt that this early cemetery extended westwards beyond the limits of the 1960 cultivation.

It is worth recording that the site of the new farm-house established above and a short distance to the east of the Casale del Fosso itself appears to have been devoid of burials.

1. Flat slab of coarse grey-brown tufa, with a raised, roughly circular disc bearing an apparently intentional, incised, cruciform design.
2. Broken cylindrical container of coarse, purplish red tufa.

3 (CDF.3).

(*a*) Handle of a miniature open bowl (diam. 0·10–12) of the same general form and ware as 15 (*a*) and similarly decorated, with slashing on the handle and cord-impressed ornament and bosses between the shoulder and the rim; broad radial grooves internally.

(*b*) Handle of a large bowl (diam. 0·25) of the same general form as (*a*) and as 15 (*a*), but plain, without decoration.

(*c*) Pedestal base of similar ware (possibly from (*b*)).

(*d*) Cup of fine-quality black impasto, with pedestal foot; handle missing. At the shoulder, bosses and cord-impressed ornament (fig. 37).

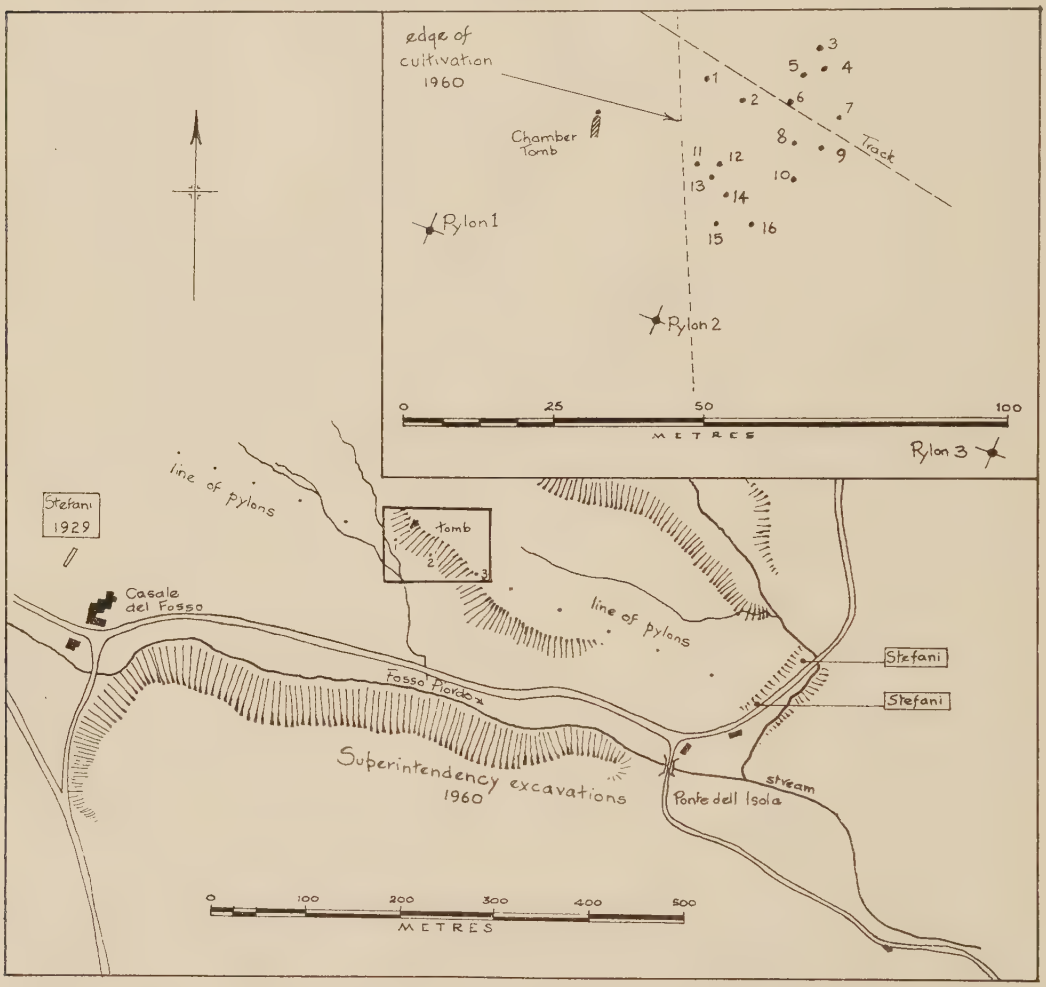


Fig. 36. Casale del Fosso: Cemetery Area ('CDF') Ploughed Out in the Autumn of 1960

4. Squared block of coarse, purplish red tufa.

5 (CDF.5). Scatter of indeterminate small pots of thin-walled impasto.

6 (CDF.6). Handle of an open bowl, similar to 16 (*a*). Highly polished black impasto with slashed ornament and a row of impressed circles along the outer edge (fig. 37).

7 (CDF.7). Fragmentary bases of two small bowls, or jugs, of good-quality brown impasto.

8 (CDF.8). Two sherds, including a large rectangular lug, from a vessel of heavy brown impasto; also a worked flint.

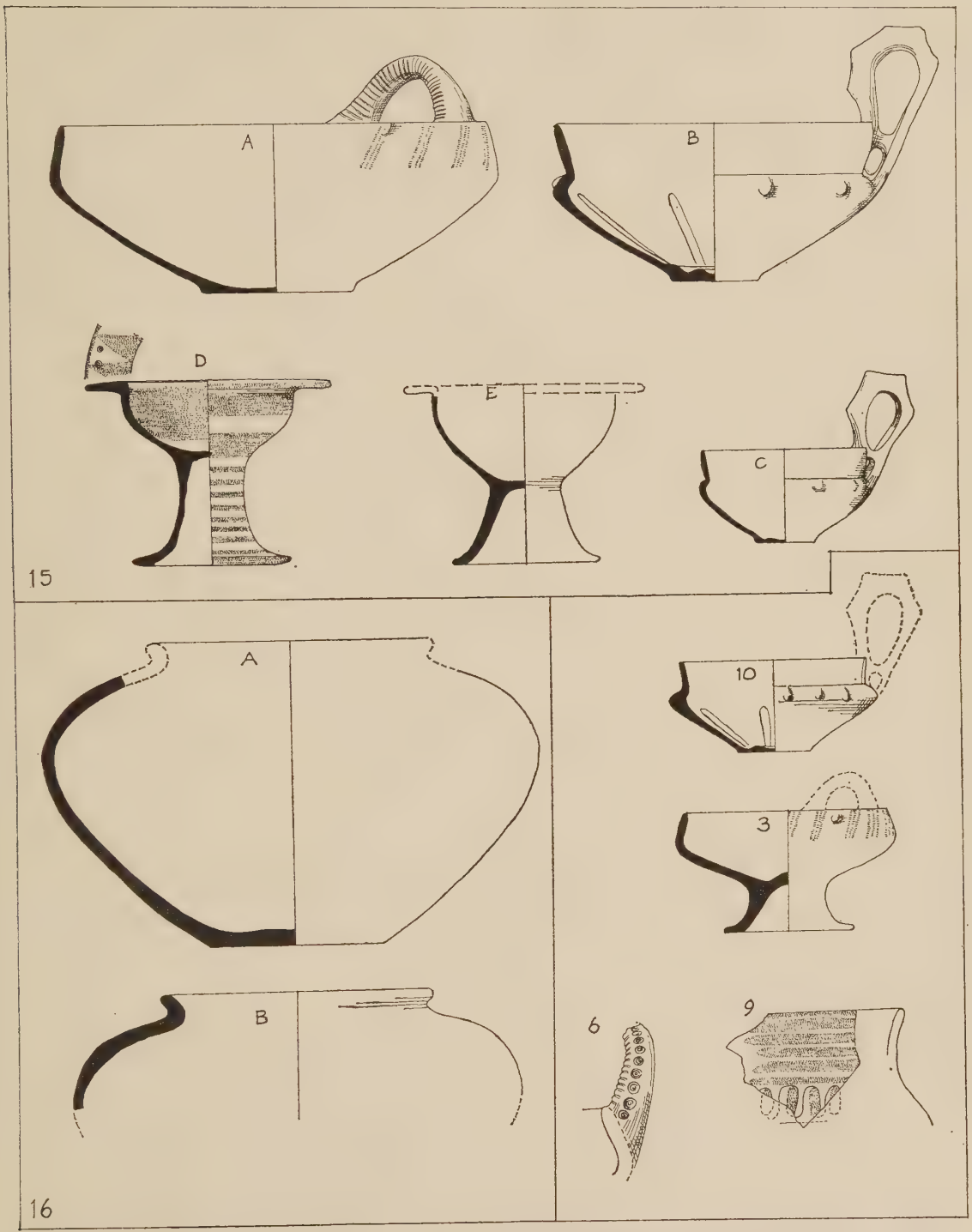


FIG. 37. CASALE DEL FOSSO: POTTERY FROM THE 'CDF' CEMETERY AREA (*cf.* fig. 36) (Scale 1:3)

9 (CDF.9). Smashed rectangular container of coarse, purplish-red tufa and four sherds of a small vessel, or vessels, of hard, pale pinkish buff ware decorated with horizontal stripes and a formal frieze in bright orange paint (fig. 37; pl. XXIX, 1). The original of which this is a good local copy is identified by Mr. N. Coldstream as a vessel of Greek Island geometric ware of the third quarter of the eighth century.

10 (CDF.10). Part of a small shouldered cup of dark brown impasto, with a series of ribs and lugs on the shoulder and eight radiating grooves internally; handle missing (fig. 37); also a small bronze ring.

11 (CDF.11). Two fragments of a cylindrical container in poor brown tufa. Three indeterminate sherds of thin brown impasto and one of pale buff ware.

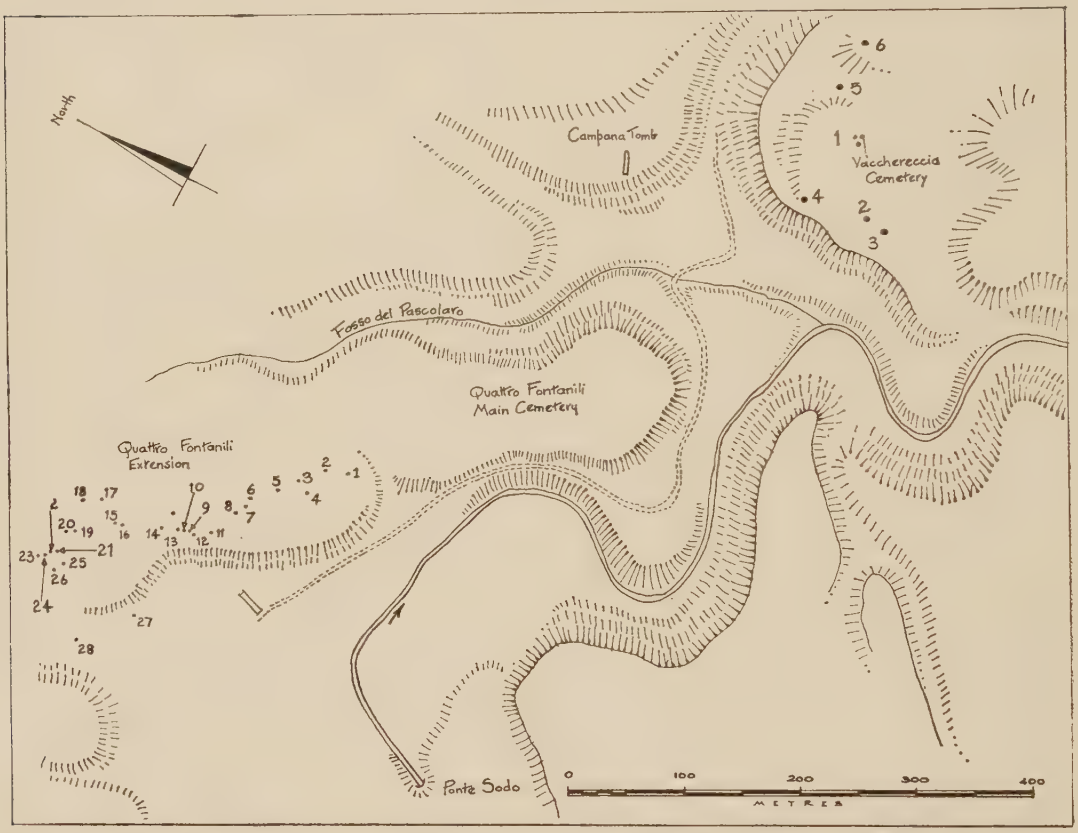


FIG. 38. THE VACCHERECCIA AND QUATTRO FONTANILI ('QFX') CEMETERY AREAS PLOUGHED OUT IN THE AUTUMN OF 1960

12. Rounded boulder of hard grey tufa: a capstone.

13. Part of a small domed lid of poor brown tufa.

14. Part of a large, slightly convex, discoidal capstone of fine, greyish-white tufa.

15 (CDF.15).

(*a*) Open bowl of thin, well fired, brown impasto with a sharp angular shoulder, raised loop handle with shallow, slashed ornament, and between the shoulder and the rim (but only on that part which lies nearest to the handle) a design of cord-impressed ornament (fig. 37).

(*b*) Large shouldered cup of similar, fine-quality, dark impasto, with a tall decorated handle and a series of bosses on the shoulder; on the inner face eight radiating grooves (fig. 37).

(*c*) Miniature version of (*b*) (fig. 37).

(*d*) Stand of pale pinkish-buff ware, decorated with horizontal stripes of bright orange paint. On the upper face of the rim a pattern of repeating triangles and cut through it, close together, two small holes, *cf.* fig. 34, 11 (*a*) (fig. 37).

(*e*) Pedestal base and part of the body of similar stand (fig. 37). The body is badly burnt and has split away from the base, which is untouched by fire.
(*f*) Part of a handle, similar to (*a*), in brownish black impasto.

Of the above (*a*) and (*c*)–(*f*) lay beside a small rectangular container of soft white tufa; (*b*) lay in the next furrow to the east and may or may not have come from the same grave.

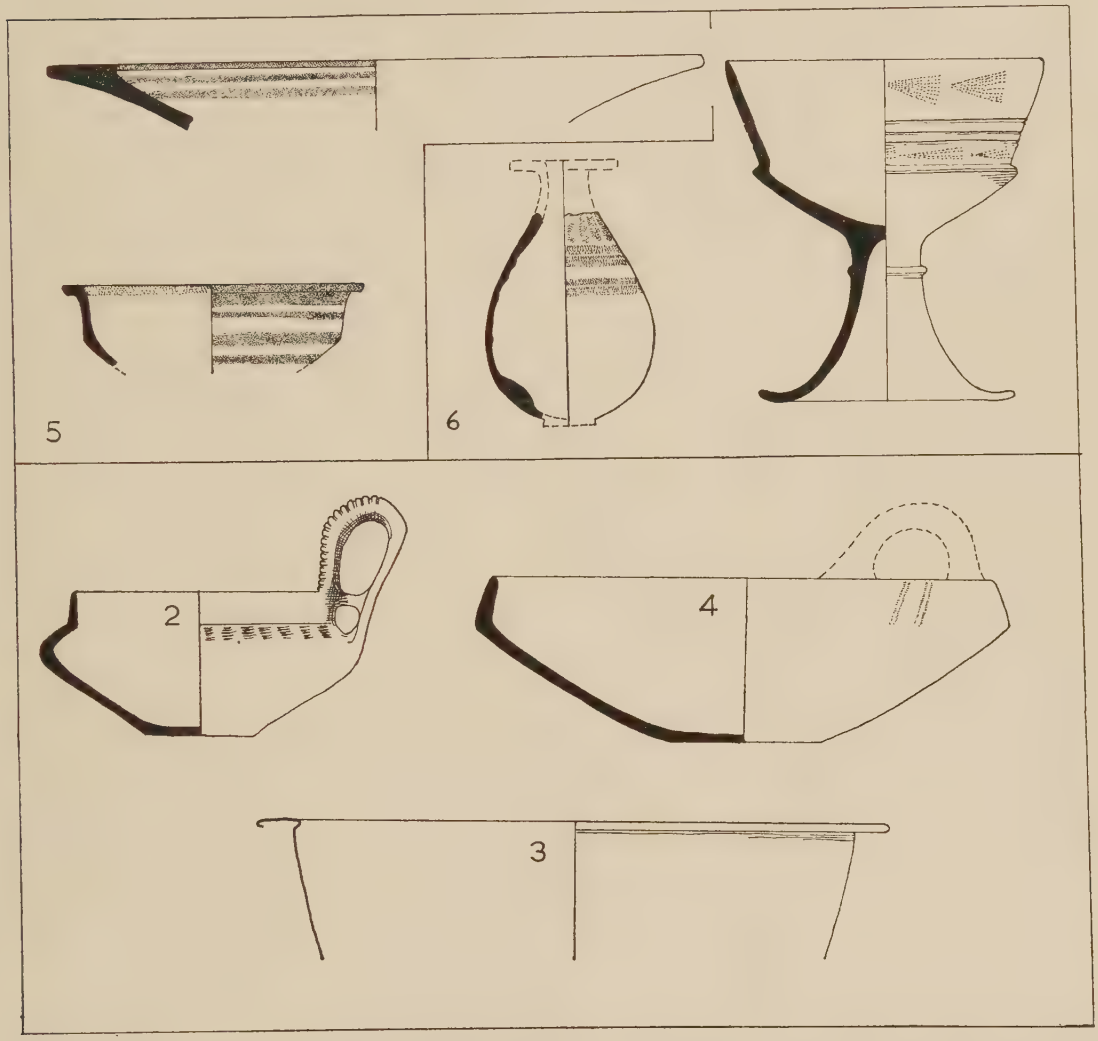


FIG. 39. VACCHERECCIA: POTTERY AND BRONZE VESSEL FROM THE SITES SHOWN IN FIG. 38 (Scale 1:3)

16 (CDF.16).
(*a*) Squat globular urn of fine quality, crimson-red impasto, lacking rim (fig. 37).
(*b*) Rim of a similar vessel (fig. 37).

(*c*) *Riserva del Bagno* (see p. 42)

During the autumn of 1960 the Superintendency excavated a number of chamber tombs along the westward facing slopes to the north of the painted tomb discovered in the previous year (p. 43).

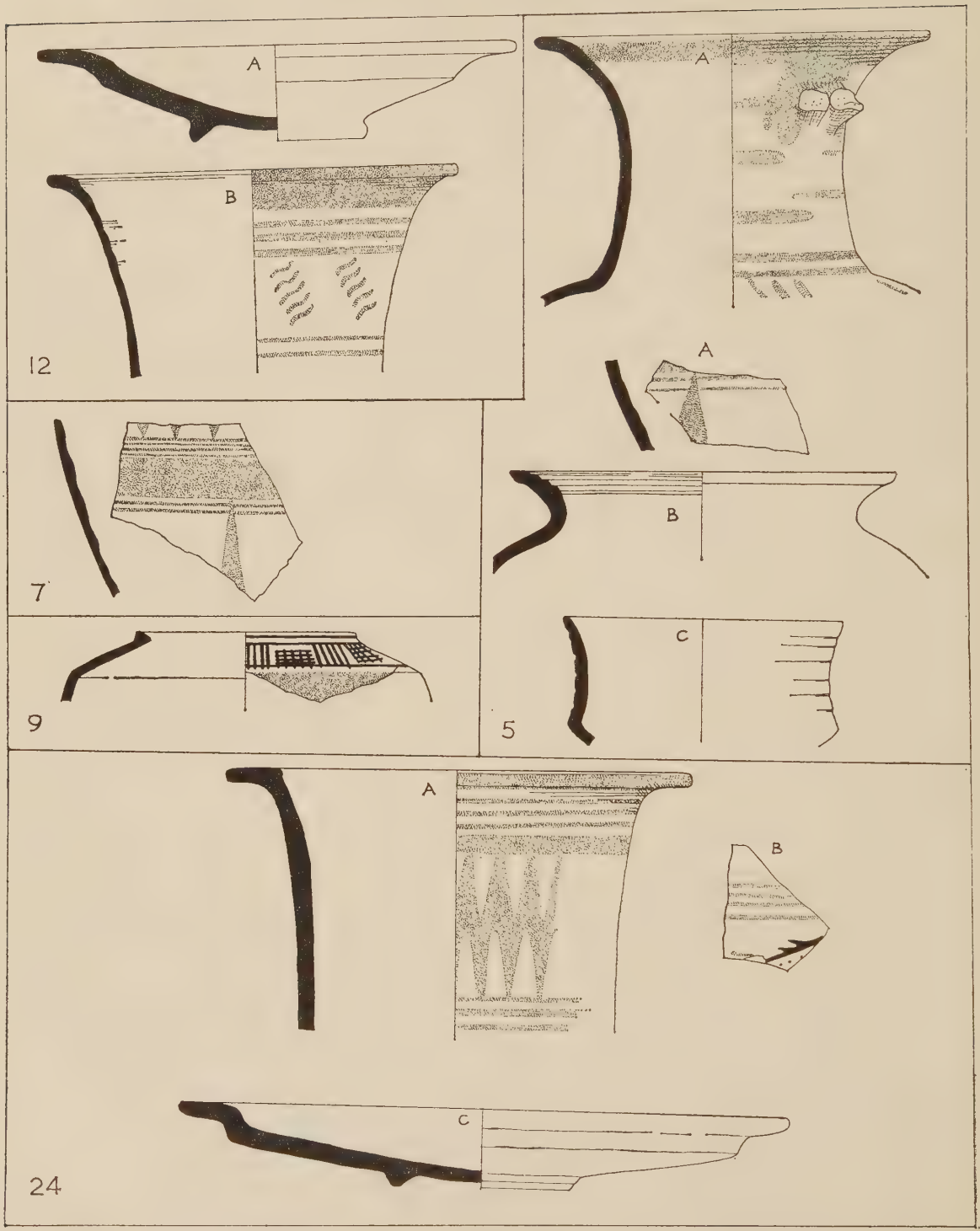


FIG. 40. QUATTRO FONTANILI : POTTERY FROM THE 'Q.FX' CEMETERY AREA (*cf.* fig. 38) (Scale 1 : 3)

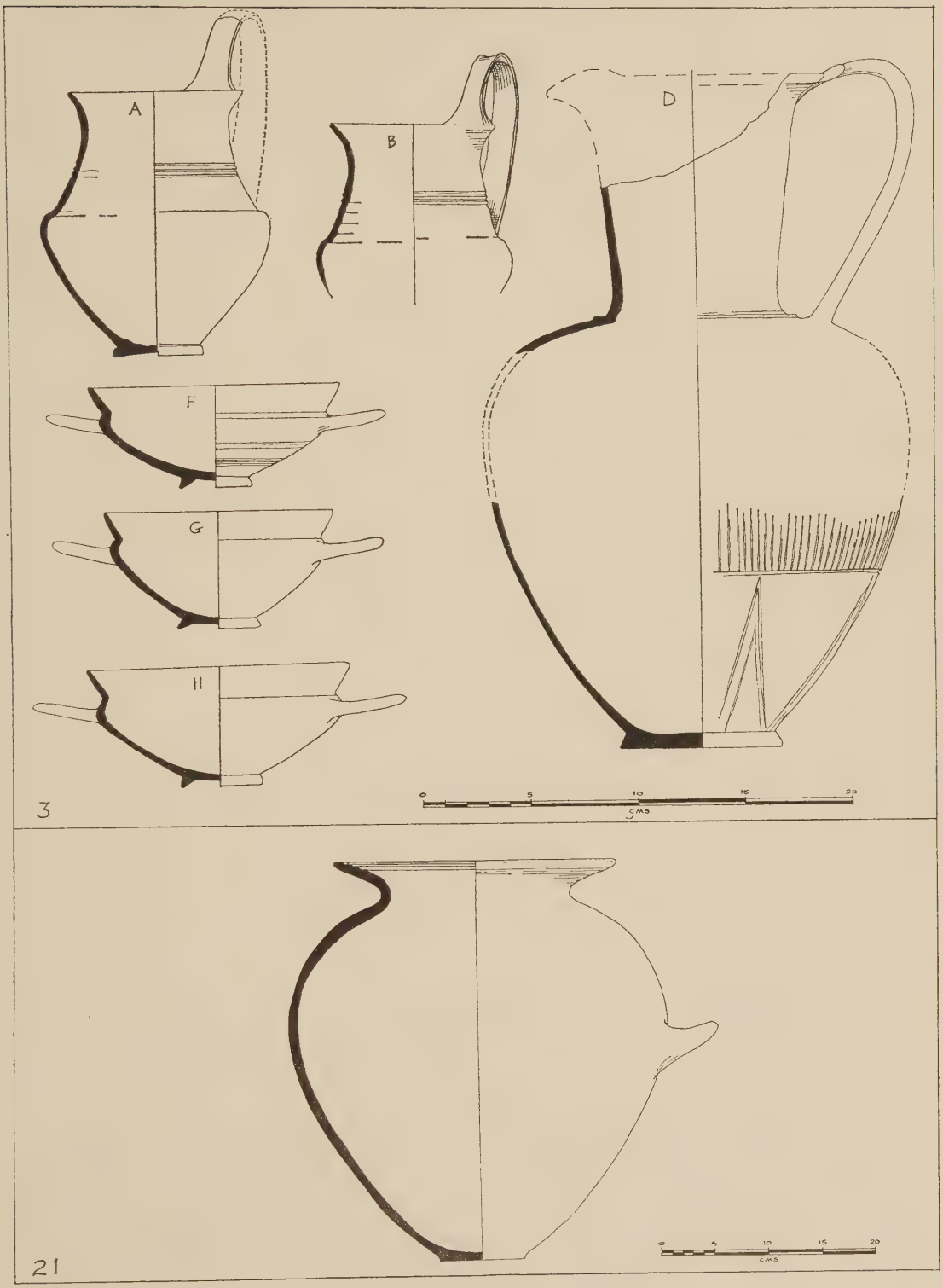


Fig. 41. Quattro Fontanili : Pottery from the 'Q FX' Cemetery Area (*cf.* fig. 38) (Scale 1 : 3)

(*d*) *Vaccherecia* (see p. 43)

The westward-facing slopes of the Vaccherecia plateau were deeply tractor-ploughed some years ago, and it is only here and there that recent ploughing has brought to light fresh evidence of the extent and character of the ancient cemeteries.

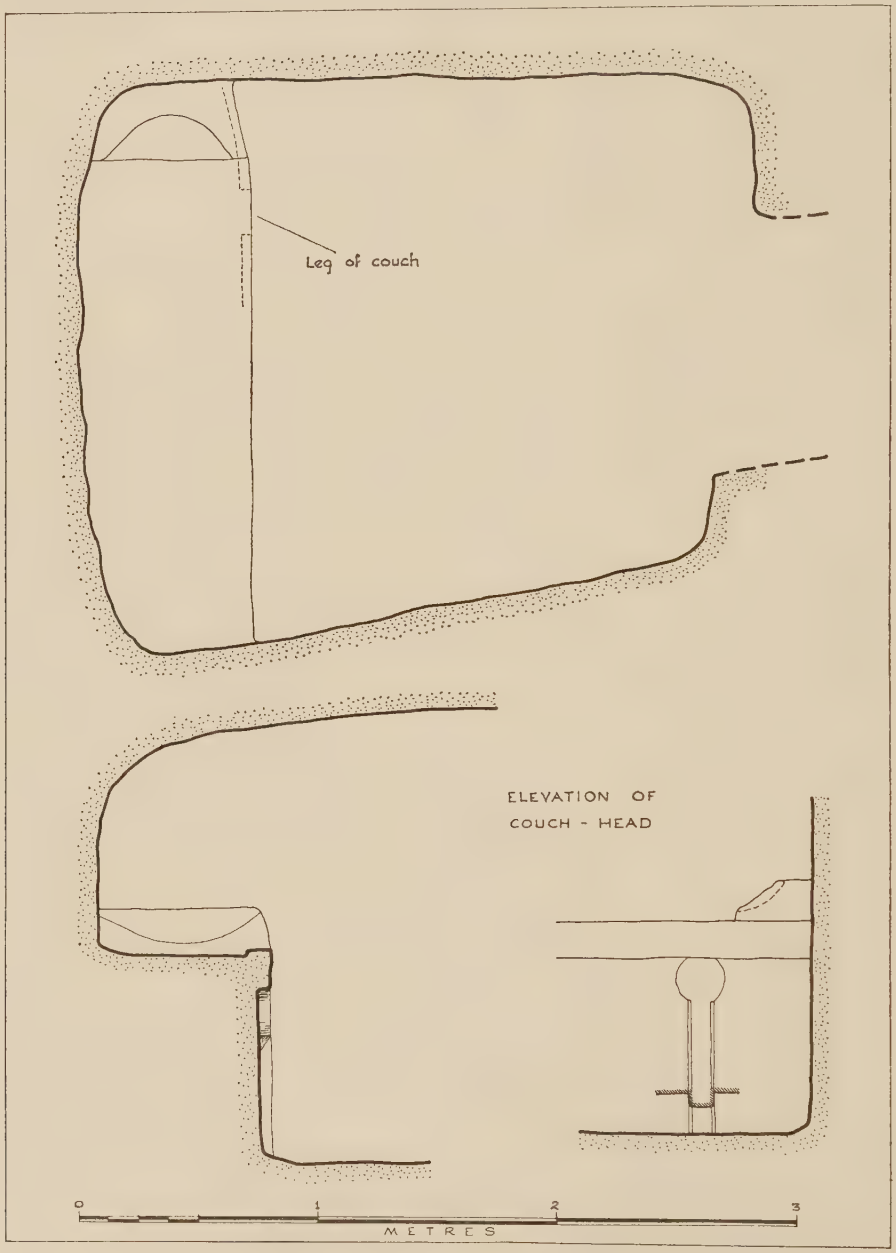


Fig. 42. Quattro Fontanili: Chamber Tomb, no. 13

The finds recorded in fig. 38 were made in September 1960. They afford explicit evidence of the former existence of a small Villanovan cemetery on the crest of the flat-topped knoll that projects from the main ridge almost directly opposite the end of the Quattro Fontanili ridge. From

this primitive nucleus the cemeteries spread down the slopes and around the crest of the scarp overlooking the Capena road, and scattered groups of sherds attest this later development. There is good reason to believe that this was the area principally examined by Lanciani in 1889 (p. 44).

1 (VAC.60.1). The lower part of a plain Villanovan cinerary urn and odd sherds from at least one, and probably two, other similar burials.

2 (VAC.60.2). Cup of black impasto with double-loop handle; the shoulder is very slightly fluted and there is shallow slashing on the handle (fig. 39).

3 (VAC.60.3). Part of the rim and other fragments of a bowl of thin sheet bronze (fig. 39). The outer border of the rim was strengthened with a framework of wire, around which the edge of the metal was wrapped.

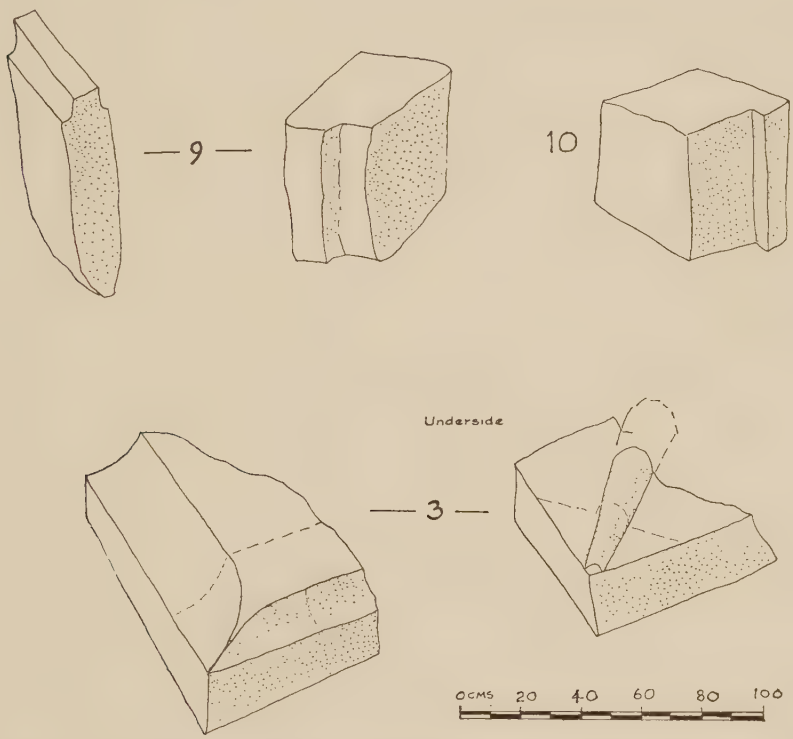


Fig. 43. Quattro Fontanili : Masonry from Tombs in the 'QFX' Cemetery Area (*cf.* fig. 38)

4 (VAC.60.4).
- (*a*) Shallow open bowl of dark brown impasto, with a sharp-angled shoulder; handle missing. Between the shoulder and the rim, bosses and cord-impressed ornament (fig. 39).
- (*b*) Fragments of two bucchero oenochoai, with groups of horizontal grooves on the body and the trilobed mouth of one of them.
- (*c*) Rim and shoulder of a bucchero kotyle.

5 (VAC.60.5). Scatter of sherds from a group of small vessels of the same soft, easily fractured, pale pinkish buff ware, decorated with faded orange paint.
- (*a*) Upper part of a bowl, or stand, with out-turned lip and angular body (fig. 39). That it was a stand with a pedestal foot is suggested by the hole (probably one of a pair) pierced vertically through the rim; *cf.* figs. 34, 11 and 37, 15, *d*.
- (*b*) Open dish with flattened spreading rim (fig. 39).
- (*c*) Two sherds from a rather large vessel, perhaps an oenochoe, including the point of attachment of a handle, with horizontal stripes below and a broad band of zigzag ornament above.

6 (VAC.60.6). Compact group of sherds:

(*a*) Kylix of fine-quality bucchero on a tall pedestal foot; no trace of handles. On the body three sharply incised lines and two bands of impressed fan ornament (fig. 39).
(*b*) Fragment of a red impasto olla.
(*c*) Part of an aryballos in the same ware as 5 (*a*)–(*c*).

At the edge of the field, near 6, could be seen until recently two large circular, or slightly oval, ridged capstones of the same general type as figs. 13, 35. These were presumably ploughed out and dragged clear when the field was deep-ploughed some years ago.

About 150 m. up the ridge from 6, near the crest, a recently robbed grave could be seen in September 1960. It had been covered by two rounded boulders of *selce*.

(*e*) *Quattro Fontanili*

1. *The main early cemetery* (pp. 46–47).—The systematic excavation of a part of the cemetery by members of the Institute of Etruscology of Rome University and of the British School at Rome, under the general direction of the Superintendency of Antiquities for Southern Etruria, confirms the impression conveyed by the superficial remains. The Villanovan nucleus lay almost exclusively on the crest of the ridge, a roughly oval area sloping gently downwards in all directions, and it appears that the initial development took place downwards and outwards towards the brow of the low but steep scarp which defines the southern extremity of the promontory on all except its north-western side. In the latter direction ploughed-out capstones mark the extension of the cemetery at a relatively early date at least as far as the lowest point of the saddle that separates the terminal knoll from the main ridge, but beyond it there is a relatively blank area, either because the tombs have here escaped the ravages of the plough, or else because there was in fact a substantial break in the continuity of the cemetery at this point, the next area of concentrated burial being that described in the following section.

The excavation of the main Quattro Fontanili cemetery is continuing and will be described in detail in a separate report.

2. *The north-westward extension of the same cemetery, on the slopes overlooking the present fountain basins.*—At the same time as the early cemetery on the south-eastern point of the Quattro Fontanili ridge was tractor-ploughed a stretch of the same ridge lying some 200–400 m. to the north-west was similarly ploughed, exposing a large number of ancient remains. The area in question lies to the south of the crest of the ridge, which slopes gently down towards the brow of the steep scarp overlooking the fountain. At the south-east end it is delimited by a small reentrant gully, which constitutes the easiest natural access to the higher ground from the valley below, and at the north-west end by the cultivated ground on the slopes of the more substantial valley opposite the Ponte Sodo.

With the possible exception of an isolated grave of Villanovan or immediately post-Villanovan date (2), there is nothing dating from the earliest stages of the occupation of Veii. There is a certain amount of red impasto and a few possibly early sherds of painted ware. Most of the pottery is, however, later, and there were evidently a number of chamber-tombs, a few represented by the collapsed tomb chambers, a number more by the squared tufa masonry ploughed out from the dromos. The pieces illustrated give a characteristic cross-section of the whole, except that most of the bucchero is of a somewhat coarser, heavier quality.

The few pieces of Roman date are presumably to be associated with the large Roman villa in the valley just below.

(*Note: the numbers in brackets are the inventory numbers given when the site was first surveyed.*)

1 (QFX.P). Rim of a miniature bowl of orange-painted pinkish-buff ware, and a large but very fragmentary group of bucchero, all of a rather heavy, poor quality. The latter includes at least five kotylai (three black and one grey bucchero; and one of better-quality black bucchero, with 3 horizontal grooves and fan pattern, *cf.* fig. 39, 6), one small shouldered cup (as 3, (*f*)–(*h*)) and one small shouldered jug (of the same general form as 3, (*a*)–(*c*)). Also the body of a small, plain bronze fibula.

2 (QFX.A). Single sherd from the body of an open dish of heavy, dark brown impasto. In a funerary context it suggests the cover of a Villanovan burial.

3 (QFX.Q). Group of fine-quality bucchero, possibly collected and abandoned by *clandestini*, but to judge from similarities of form and ware almost certainly from a single grave.

(*a*) Small shouldered jug (fig. 41).
(*b*) Similar to (*a*), but shoulder not so strongly marked (fig. 41).
(*c*) Identical with (*b*).
(*d*) Neck, shoulder and base of a large, trilobed oenochoe, with scored decoration on the body (fig. 41).
(*e*) Neck and shoulder of a similar oenochoe, but smaller; handle missing, but spout preserved.
(*f*)–(*h*) Three small shouldered cups (fig. 41).

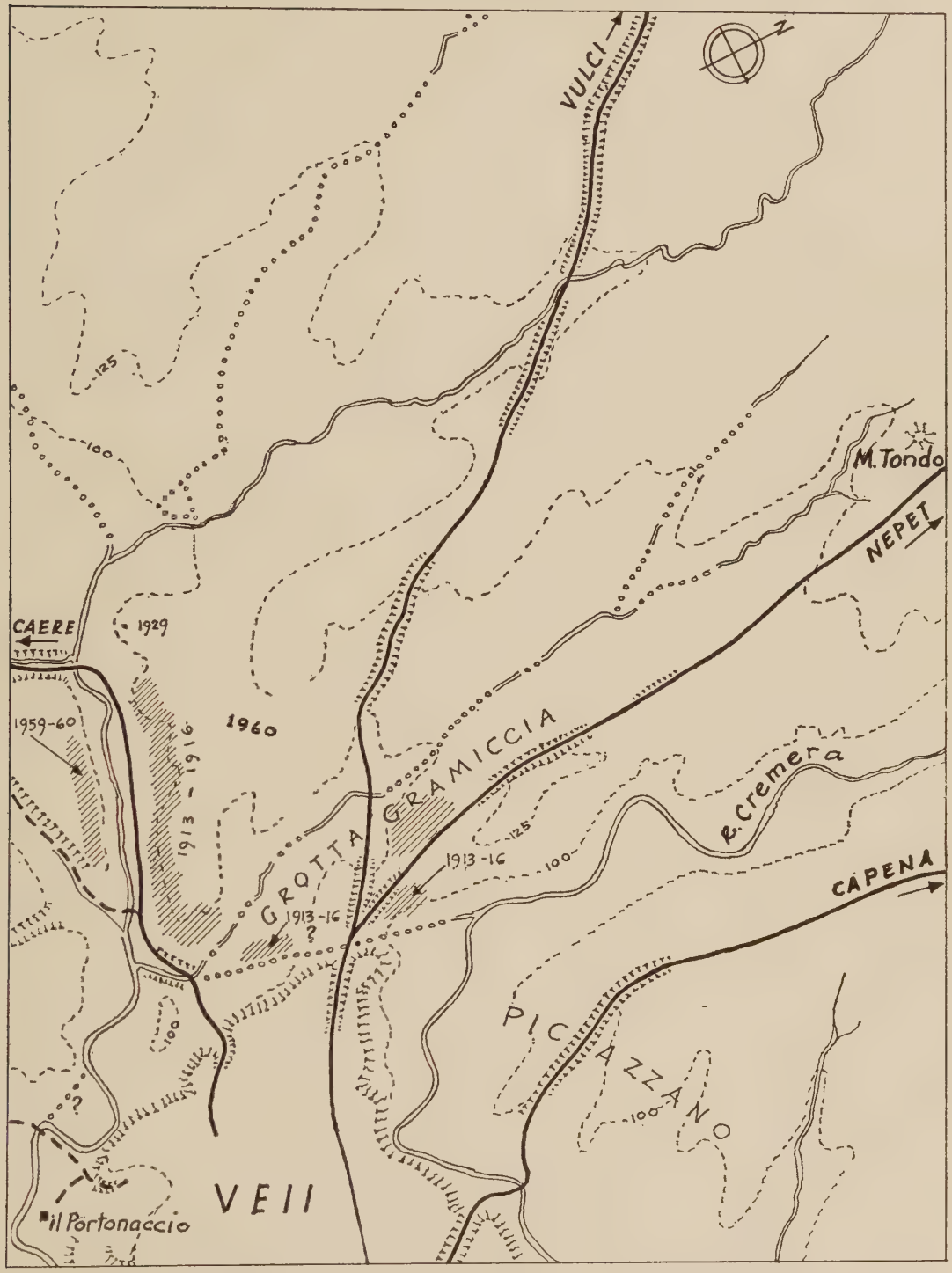


FIG. 44. THE AREA OUTSIDE THE NORTH-WEST GATE IN ETRUSCAN TIMES (*cf.* pl. III)

4 (QFX.B).
(*a*) Body sherds of a well-fired globular red impasto vessel; and
(*b*) sherds from the body of small vessel of fine, hard, light brownish-grey impasto, probably a miniature amphora, of the same form as the 'spectacle' amphorae but decorated with a chevron pattern of incised lines.

5 (QFX.E).
(*a*) Neck and one sherd from the body of a large amphora of pale buff ware with twin handles and orange-red, rather carelessly applied painted decoration; on the neck horizontal stripes, panels of slightly oblique stripes at the junction of neck and body, and a radiating star pattern about the base (fig. 40).
(*b*) Neck and body sherds of a globular red impasto olla, with grooves on the inner face of the rim (fig. 40).
(*c*) Tall, shoulderd cup, with undulating grooves between neck and shoulder, in good dark-brown impasto, imitating bucchero (fig. 40).
(*d*) Handle of a miniature 'spectacle' amphora of good-quality bucchero; four scored vertical lines on the outer face.
(*e*) Body sherd of a vertically fluted olla of red impasto.
(*f*) Shoulder of a kotyle in heavy, dull-surfaced bucchero.

6. Simple rectangular chamber tomb (2·70 × 2·65) with rounded corners. Any benches that there may have been are hidden by the fallen roof.

7 (QFX.D).
(*a*) Body sherd from a large, thin-walled, globular vessel of dark brown impasto, with a rosette pattern incised before firing (pl. XXIX, 5).
(*b*) Sherd from the lower body of a large vessel, of hard pinkish-buff ware with orange paint (fig. 40). Radiating from the base a star pattern, and above it a zone probably of broad zigzags, similar to 24.
(*c*) Fragments of several small, rather coarse bucchero vessels, including a kotyle, a shouldered cup (as 3 (*f*)–(*h*)) and second kotyle in grey bucchero.

8 (QFX.F). Two sherds from a large, heavy Italo-Corinthian vessel, probably an oenochoe, the decoration of which included a scale pattern in black and purple; the outlines of the design are scored.

9 (QFX.3). Chamber tomb. Beside it a moulded tufa block (fig. 43), some archaic tiles and part of the mouth of a bowl with high, angular shoulder and flattened inturned neck, in rather soft, pale buff ware with a black painted metope design on the neck and orange paint on the body (pl. XXIX, 4; fig. 40). The original of which this is a good local copy is identified by Mr. N. Coldstream as a vessel of Greek Island geometric ware of the third quarter of the eighth century.

10. Simple, approximately rectangular chamber tomb (2·62 × 2·28) with a plain recessed funerary bench in the rear wall.

11. Four squared tufa blocks and one of semicircular section.

12 (QFX.2).
(*a*) Dish of heavy red impasto (fig. 40).
(*b*) Neck and body sherds of a large amphora of the same general form as 5 (*a*). Pale buff ware with orange-painted decoration, the scheme on both neck and body consisting of zones of horizontal lines alternating with groups of parallel wavy lines (fig. 40).

13. Approximately rectangular chamber tomb (2·70 × 2·32) with a rock-cut funerary couch occupying the whole of the rear wall. At the head a raised head-rest with a cupped segmental depression, and on the front the carved leg of a couch (fig. 42).

14 (QFX.C).
(*a*) Shoulder fragment of a large painted amphora (?) of good-quality pale buff ware with bright orange paint externally (pl. XXIX, 8; a bird) and a paler orange stripe internally.
(*b*) Shoulder of a much smaller vessel of a lighter, harder, pale buff ware, decorated externally with horizontal bands and vertical stripes in pale orange paint; bright orange internally (pl. XXIX, 3).

15. Thirteen blocks of squared tufa, one with a rectangular cut-away (as 17).

16 (QFX.11). Neck of a large Roman amphora.

17 (QFX.9). Two shaped tufa blocks with rectangular cut-aways (from a doorway?) (fig. 43); fragments of archaic tiles; and one painted sherd from the body of a large vessel of creamy buff ware, painted with the forequarters of a lion striding to the left, with one foreleg and tongue in deep red, the head and second foreleg being outlined in pale orange (pl. XXIX, 2).

18. Fragments of about ten blocks of squared, good-quality, greyish white tufa.

19. Blocks of squared tufa.

20. Blocks of squared tufa.

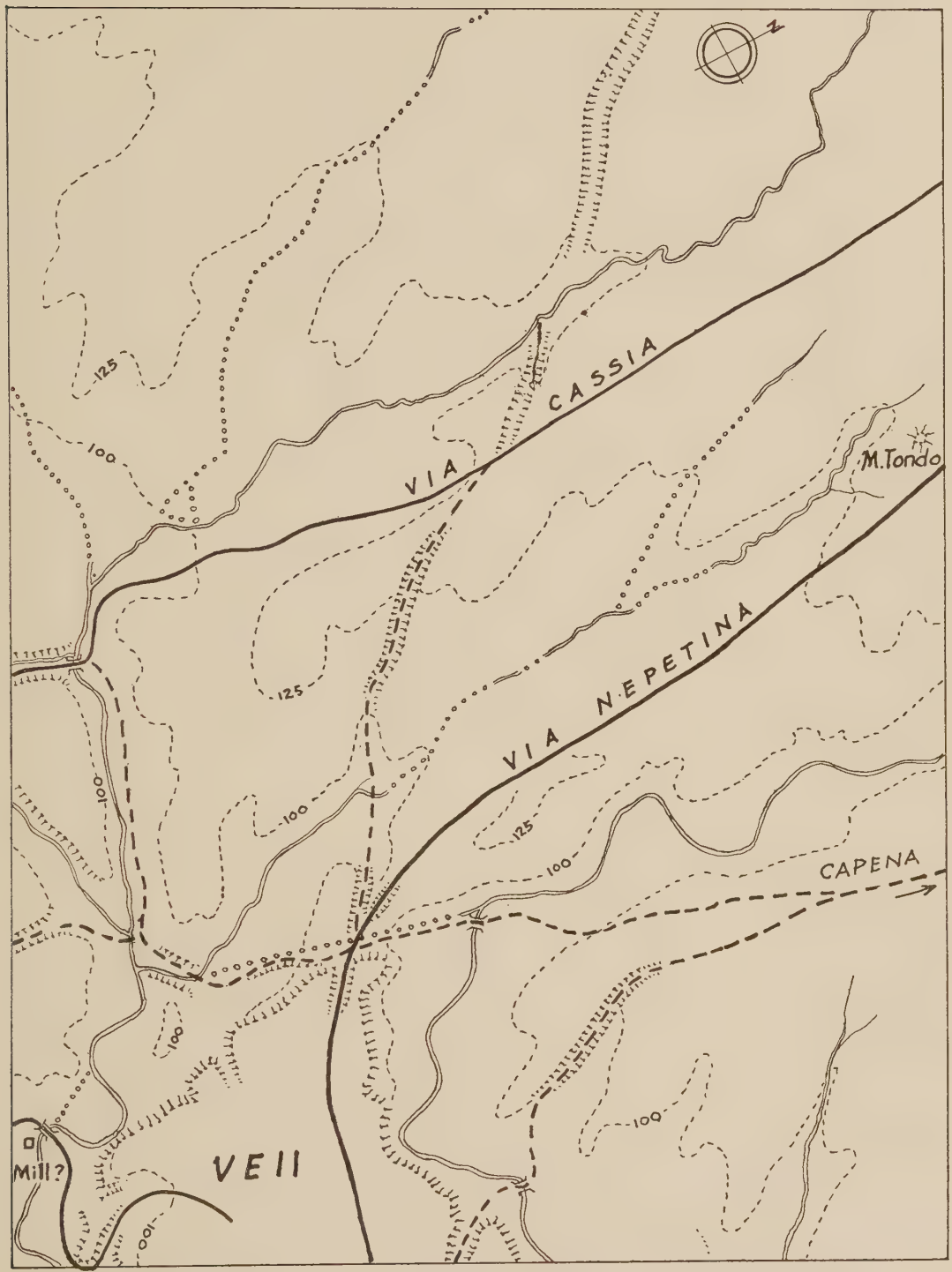


FIG. 45. THE AREA OUTSIDE THE NORTH-WEST GATE IN ROMAN TIMES (*cf.* pl. III)

21 (QFX.17).

(*a*) Large two-handled jar of red impasto (fig. 41).
(*b*) Body sherds of a squat globular jar of red impasto, similar to fig. 37, 16.
(*c*) Rim sherd of a cordoned cup of fine-quality red impasto similar to fig. 5, *c*.

22 (QFX.18). Fragments of two large tubular Roman amphorae.

23 (QFX.20). Rim of a large disc of red impasto, slightly curved in section, presumably a cover; diam. approx. 0·39.

24 (QFX.19).

(*a*) Neck of a large amphora of the same general shape as 5 (*a*). Hard buff ware decorated with bright orange-red paint: on the neck a zone of elongated zigzags between bands of horizontal stripes; on the upper surface of the rim interlocking triangles, and inside the neck two broad bands of colour (fig. 40).
(*b*) Worn sherd of a rather soft, pale buff ware depicting part of a fish (?) with spines and stippled body in black paint and traces of orange paint (fig. 40, pl. XXIX, 6).
(*c*) Shallow dish of red impasto with a grey core; in the rim are two small holes, cut before firing (fig. 40).
(*d*) Sherds of a dish (?) in a hard pinkish buff ware with a rather summary decoration in pale orange paint: externally concentric circles and a panel or frieze of lattice work, internally broad concentric bands (pl. XXIX, 7).

25 (QFX.15).

(*a*) Base and body sherds of a large jug, or amphora, in pale buff ware with deep purplish-brown painted decoration. Radiating from the base a star pattern; on the shoulder broad horizontal bands of colour separated by narrower stripes, some reserved and some superimposed in a lighter paint.
(*b*) Sherds from the body and neck of a large jug of pale buff ware painted in bright reddish orange. Radiating from the base a star pattern; on the neck horizontal stripes.
(*c*) Body sherds of a thin-walled globular vessel of red impasto.

26. Squared blocks of tufa and archaic tiles.

27. Beside the path that leads round the upper edge of the field at the foot of the hill, just above the Roman villa, what appears to be the dromos of an earth-filled chamber tomb.

28. Similar to 27; also scattered blocks of squared tufa.

In addition to the above, of which the precise locations were recorded on discovery, scattered sherds of orange-painted ware were picked up on and around the site of the new farm-house (1961), on the crest of the ridge; and in the vicinity of nos. 1–3 a visitor picked up the remains of an Italo-Corinthian painted oenochoe (pl. XXX). The latter, though of quite good quality, shows signs of warping in the kiln during firing.

APPENDIX IV

THE AREA NORTH AND WEST OF THE NORTH-WEST GATE

The stretch of country that lies immediately outside the North-west Gate of Veii, between it and the Via Cassia, is one that in the course of its long history has undergone many superficial changes, and at the risk of some repetition it has seemed worth while to assemble, in figs. 44–47, the tangible record of these changes, as they have been impressed upon the landscape. Each successive period has added fresh elements to the pattern, but each has at the same time taken shape within the framework established by its predecessors. Here in microcosm we can see the forces that have been at work moulding the face of the surrounding countryside since man first set foot upon the plateau of Veii.

The area illustrated is the same as that shown in the air photograph, pl. IV, which was taken when the only buildings in the whole area were the Osteria (Casale) del Fosso, the Casale Agrifolio (beside the Ponte dell'Isola), the mill, the gatehouse to the Olgiata estate and three farms along the Via Cassia. Since then the whole countryside to the east of the Cassia has been broken up into small holdings, and the greater part of the Olgiata estate is in process of 'development.'

Fig. 44. *Etruscan Veii.*—The map illustrates the situation in the fifth century B.C., when Veii was at the height of its power. (*Corrections*: the Portonaccio road should be shown in the same solid line as the other roads; and the detailed location of the cemeteries requires revision in the light of the information set out in Appendix III, especially in figs. 29 and 36. Perhaps also the earlier road to Caere, indicated in dotted line, should be shown as passing round the end of the promontory through which the later road passed in a cutting, *i.e.* to the left of the 100 m. contour ring.)

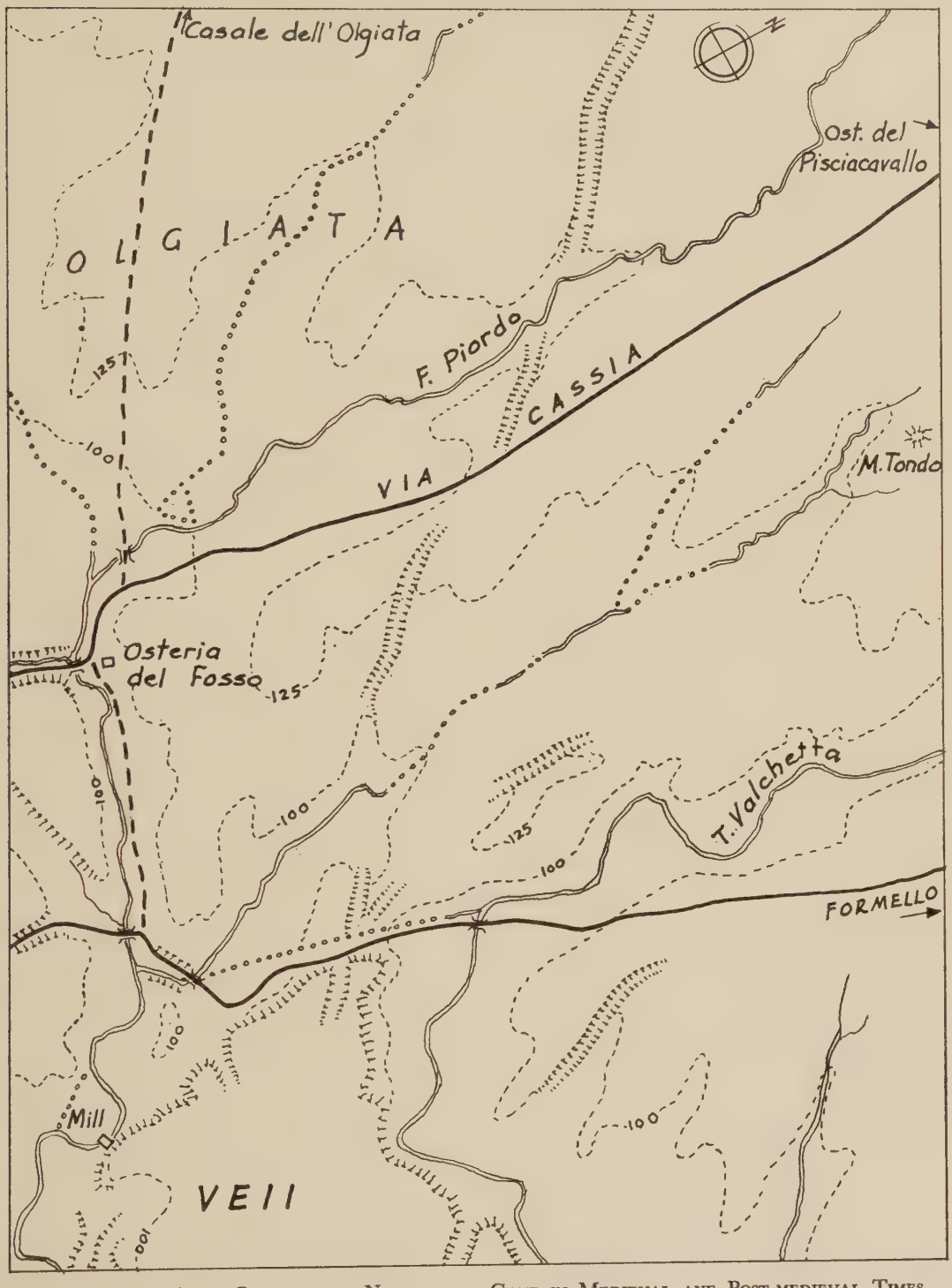


FIG. 46. THE AREA OUTSIDE THE NORTH-WEST GATE IN MEDIEVAL ANE POST-MEDIEVAL TIMES (*cf.* pl. III)

The principal surviving features of the Etruscan landscape are the roads and the *cuniculi*. Of the former it must be remembered that the network radiating from Veii was not established on a single occasion but was the result of a long process of growth. The ridgeway track to Nepet and the Monti Sabatini dates from the earliest settlement of the site. Two others, the Portonaccio road (leading to Tiber mouth) and the early road to Caere, must also belong to quite an early stage in the city's development. Two, the road to Vulci and the later road to Caere, both of them cross-country highways engineered to carry wheeled traffic over difficult ground, are relatively late-comers. The road across Picazzano is of uncertain date, although the large cuttings here and there along it are presumably a late feature.

In addition to these main roads, all radiating from Veii, one must envisage a number of minor tracks leading to the fields and cemeteries around the city. In the nature of things these are hard to document, but of several one can reasonably infer the existence already in Etruscan times. One of these is what later became the first stretch of the medieval road to Formello, between La Storta and the Ponte dell'Isola; this would have been the natural approach to the Oliveto-Pozzuolo cemeteries. Another is the road across the saddle just outside the North-west Gate, the line of which follows what must always have been an easy and obvious short-cut for local traffic moving east and west. A third is the track down the flat ground on the left bank of the Valchetta, where there were already isolated burials in Villanovan times (p. 25) and where there are in fact the actual remains of an ancient rock-cut road still visible in the stretch between the Formello Gate and the Ponte Sodo.

Less immediately impressive, but in the long run hardly less important for the enduring effect that they have had upon the landscape, are the *cuniculi*. The Etruscan date of that linking the Valchetta with the Piordo is not certain (pp. 50–51). Those within what later became the Olgiata estate and that of the Grotta Gramiccia stream are, on the other hand, field drainage channels of the type that is characteristic of large parts of the central Ager Veientanus and are unquestionably Etruscan. Their presence may be taken to indicate that (as indeed one would have expected) the whole of this area had already been cleared and was under cultivation in Etruscan times.

Fig. 45. *The Roman municipality and the Via Cassia.*—Except for the paving of the Portonaccio road, which is a late feature (p. 11), the map illustrates the situation prevailing in the late Republic and early Empire, after the construction of the Via Cassia, probably in the early second century B.C. Before that date there can have been very little change from the Etruscan pattern: the main road to the north, the Via Nepetina, still crossed the site, following the line of its Etruscan predecessor; and although Veii itself had lost all political importance, the network of fine roads radiating from it was quite sufficient to ensure its continued existence, at first as a market town and later as the administrative centre for the whole surrounding territory.

The construction of the Via Cassia struck a new and discordant note. The short stretch of it that is visible in fig. 45 is in detail uncharacteristic in that here, and here alone in the whole 18 km. stretch between Tomba di Nerone (*Ad Sextum*) and the crest of the Monti Sabatini, the road drops off the watershed to cross the Fosso Piordo on a bridge which almost certainly occupied the site of a preexisting Etruscan bridge on the road from Veii to Caere. Except at this one point, however, chosen because of the existing road-cutting immediately south of the bridge, the Via Cassia between La Storta and the Osteria di Pisciacavallo was following a new line, designed to link the already-existing Via Clodia with the yet earlier Via Nepetina; and if one surveys the road as a whole, it is obvious that although the engineers were ready to make use of preexisting roads wherever convenient, the guiding principle adopted throughout was that of securing the quickest and easiest route up into eastern Tuscany, regardless of the requirements of local traffic.

As a result Veii, instead of lying on a major traffic artery, found itself in a backwater, and despite the efforts of Augustus and his immediate successors to inject new life into it, the subsequent history of the town is one of steady decline and eventual extinction. Its place was taken by the road-station *Ad Novas*, which grew up at the junction of the Via Clodia and the Via Cassia, and which is recorded in the Peutinger Table in an entry which its editor, K. Miller (*Itineraria Romana*, p. 297), quite arbitrarily assigns to an adjoining road, that between Tarquinia and Aquae Apollinares. The village of La Storta has obliterated any substantial traces of Roman buildings. But every analogy suggests that there must have been a roadside settlement in Roman times at such an important road-junction, and it is significant that the one road leading out of Veii which has yielded traces of activity at a relatively advanced date is the road across Portonaccio towards the Cassia near La Storta.

The medieval road from La Storta to Ponte dell'Isola and onwards towards Formello is here shown as existing already in Roman times. There is no direct evidence of this other than the existence of a substantial Roman villa just east of the Ponte Formello (omitted in error from the list given on pp. 69–71); but if, as is very likely, there was provision for local traffic between the Via

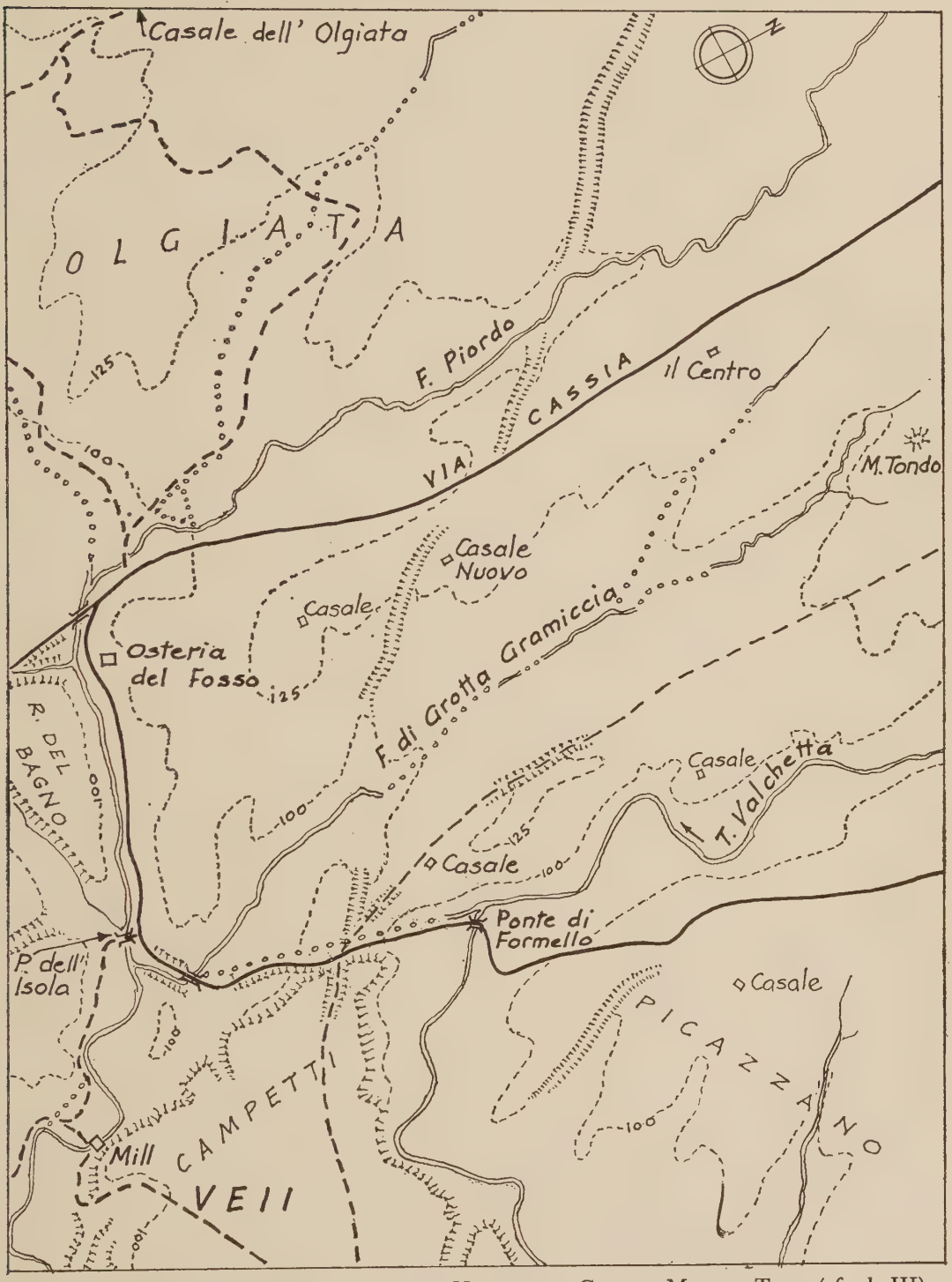


FIG. 47. THE AREA OUTSIDE THE NORTH-WEST GATE IN MODERN TIMES (*cf.* pl. III)

Cassia and the thickly settled country on the left bank of the Cremera, it would almost inevitably have had to follow this line (or else, for the first stretch, that of the old Veii-Caere road between the Osteria del Fosso and the Ponte dell'Isola).

No attempt has been made in fig. 45 to illustrate the other major factor in the decline and extinction of Veii, namely the steady drift of population out into the villas and farms of the open countryside. The detailed documentation of this must await the more general study of the topography of the Ager Veientanus. Here it will be sufficient to record that, unlike many parts of the countryside around Veii where the pattern and scale of settlement closely resembles that of the modern Ente Maremma land-reform schemes, the holdings here seem to have been somewhat larger and wealthier, half-a-dozen villas accounting for almost the entire area illustrated.

Fig. 46. *The Middle Ages and the immediately post-medieval period.*—The map illustrates the situation prevailing shortly after the close of the Middle Ages. To it should be added the track leading from Isola Farnese to the mill, which was certainly in active use as early as the beginning of the 11th century (p. 81). It presumably continued across the meadows to join the Formello road at the foot of the slopes outside the ancient Caere Gate. (*Correction*: for Osteria del Pisciacavallo, read Osteria di Pisciacavallo.)

The principal feature which the Middle Ages inherited from the Roman period was the Via Cassia, which, however derelict it may at times have become, remained then, as it has remained ever since, the principal traffic artery between Rome and central Tuscany. The feature that was new was the final extinction of Veii at some date after the beginning of the fourth century A.D. and the emergence in the tenth and eleventh centuries of the medieval villages on sites which for the most part had no previous history of human habitation.

The result was a major shift in the pattern of local communications. The former Capena road across Picazzano was diverted to Formello, following a line which, within the area covered by fig. 46, may well have existed in Roman, if not in Etruscan, times (*cf.* fig. 45); prior to the construction of the Ponte dell'Isola, which is post-medieval at any rate in its present form, it must have crossed the Fosso Piordo by the ford which had carried the original Etruscan road to Caere. Another certainly medieval feature is the mill. The 'Pons Veneni' (p. 87) was probably the Roman predecessor of the recently (1944) destroyed bridge on the Via Cassia opposite the Osteria del Fosso.

The construction of the Casale dell'Olgiata in the second half of the sixteenth century marks the beginning of the long period during which the whole of this area north of Rome was gradually broken up into a number of independent estates. The Casale itself is an unusually luxurious example of its type, combining the functions of a country residence with those of farm and estate-centre. Outside the villages these big *casali* constitute the principal post-Roman and pre-nineteenth century addition to the landscape, of which indeed they were until recently almost the only inhabited buildings. For the Olgiata estate and its Casale, see G. Tomassetti, *La Campagna Romana*, iii, p. 32.

Another result of the more settled conditions prevailing in the post-medieval period was a notable increase in the amount of traffic carried by the great trunk roads and the establishment along them of inns, hostelries and posting stations to serve the needs of travellers. Although neither the Osteria del Fosso nor the Osteria di Pisciacavallo seems to be of any great antiquity, both are products of this phase. For the former, see L. Canina, *Descrizione dell'Antica Cittá di Veii*, 1847, pl. V.

Fig. 47. *Modern Times.*—The map represents the countryside as it is today, in a state of rapid transition from the pastoral quiet of a very recent past to the bustle and noise of the present mechanized age. Since the map was prepared, half a dozen new small farms of the Ente Maremma resettlement scheme have been added within the area between the Via Cassia and the Via Formello, and several more on Picazzano, just off the bottom right-hand corner of the map; to serve one group of them, the line of the ancient Via Nepetina has recently been metalled. The Olgiata Estate has been broken up for development and a group of villas built on the high ground at the north end of the Riserva del Bagno. There is now almost continuous ribbon development along the Via Cassia from Rome to La Storta, and La Storta itself is now continuous to the left-hand edge of the map, both down the Via Cassia and down the road to Isola Farnese, which is now little more than a small, peripheral suburb of the sprawling mass of new building on and near the main road.

Viewing the harsh impact of modernity, it is easy to forget how much the present pattern still owes to the past. Many of the Etruscan *cuniculi* are still functioning, preserving the fields beneath which they run from the erosion that takes such a heavy toll elsewhere, and until very recently driving the mill which since the eleventh century served the village of Isola Farnese. At least one of the Etruscan road-cuttings, that to the east of the Ponte dell'Isola, carries a busy provincial road, and the yet earlier ridgeway track from Veii to the north is once more in active local use. A short distance off the map, north of Pisciacavallo, and again south of La Storta the modern traveller from Viterbo to Rome still follows a road as old as Veii itself.

But although the Etruscan imprint on the landscape is far more substantial than might at first sight be apparent, it was left to the Romans to establish what today, after two thousand years, is still the dominating feature of the whole countryside, namely the Via Cassia. Within the area covered by figs. 44–47 the cutting and bridge near the Osteria del Fosso are new, but otherwise the modern road is nowhere more than a few metres to the right and left of its Roman predecessor; and just as in Roman times, it is the feature upon which all traffic converges and towards which the population of the neighbouring villages is irresistibly drawn. Except for two well-to-do country villas there has been no new building in Isola Farnese since the war. La Storta, on the other hand, at the beginning of the century a tiny hamlet at the fork of the Via Cassia and the Via Clodia, has increased tenfold and is still growing—petrol-stations and garages, bars and wayside restaurants; shops, a market and an annual fair; the local school and the police-station; a custom's office; a grandiose new Jesuit shrine; and, attracted by all these conveniences, an ever-increasing number of small houses. Here, translated into modern terms, one can watch the birth of a road-station along any of the main roads of the Roman Empire. Characteristically, it is the junction of two Roman roads which, after an interval of nearly two millenia, is once more the operative feature today. These are the enduring realities that underlie the elusive superficials of an age in transition, the heritage that links this countryside indissolubly with the story of its own past.

INDEXES TO VEII: THE HISTORICAL TOPOGRAPHY OF THE ANCIENT CITY

I. INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS

A

Allia, battle of, 54.
Augustus, emperor, 57.

B

Baccano, 60.
'Bagni della Regina', 52, 62, 71.
baths, Roman, 68, 69, 71; *balneum*, 60.
bridge, Roman, 15, 20, 62, 81; possible Etruscan, 18.

C

Caere, road to, 3, 7, 8, 27, 42, 47, 61.
Caere (West) Gate, 6–8, 38.
Calcata, 78.
Campagnano, 78.
Campana tomb, 18, 46.
Campetti, 20, 27, 31, 54, 55, 68.
Capena, pottery of, 41; road to, 19, 22, 56, 61; *see also* North-east Gate.
capstones of graves, 44, 46, 101.
Careiae, 61.
Il Casalaccio (la Torraccia, la Casa Rotta), 43, 75; cemetery, 55.
Casale: Agrifolio, 50; Baccanello, 1, 6; Cabrioli, 16, 18, 27, 28, 32, 66, 68, 90; Domenici, 13, 22; (Osteria) del Fosso, 41, 42, 44, App. IV; Cemetery, 99–105; Nuovo, 6; dell'Olgiata, App. IV; Piano Roseto, 18; del Pino, 14; Santa Cornelia, 19; Vaccherecia, 16, 19, 44, 71.
La Casa Rotta (la Torraccia) *see* il Casalaccio.
castella, medieval, 77, 79.
Castellum Insulae (Isola Farnese), 79, 80.
cemeteries, Etruscan, 20, 39–47; Roman, 12, 13, 71–75; Villaovan, 22–25; *see also* il Casalaccio, Grotta Gramiccia, Macchia della Comunità, Monte Campanile, Monte Michele, Oliveto, Picazzano, Quattro Fontanili, Riserva del Bagno, Vaccherecia, Valle la Fata.
Chigi tomb, 47.
cistern, 28, 48, 51, 69.
Civita Castellana (Falerii), 79.
Il Colombario (la Spezeria), 18, 19, 71.
columbarium, discovered in 1812–17, 64, 68, 73; medieval dovecot, 81.
Contrada, *see* Campetti, Macchiagrande, Picazzano Quarticcioli.
Cremera, river, *see* Fosso Valchetta.
cuniculus, 6, 7, 8, 10, 42–52, 68, 69.

D

diverticulum, 11, 61.
Domusculta Capracorum, 77–79.
drainage, 19, 47–52.

E

erosion, rate of, 10.
extramurani, 59.

F

Faleria (medieval Stabia), 78.
Falerii (Civita Castellana), 4, 46; pottery of, 41.
Farnese, Alessandro, cardinal, 81.
Fontana di Re Carlo, 15, 71.
Formello Gate, 19–20, 27, 34, 39, 49, 61; road, 4, 7, 11, 18, 20, 28, 31, 42, 46, 47, 62; village, 78, 79.
forum, presumed site of, 64.
Fosso: del Cerro, 10; di Formello, *see* Fosso Valchetta; di Due Fossi, 13, 15, 25, 81, *see also* Fosso Piordo; di Grotta Gramiccia, 6, 7, 8, 48, 50; della Mola, 25, 43, *see also* Fosso Piordo; del Pascolaro, 18, 19, 44, 46; Piordo (Fosso della Mola, Fosso di Due Fossi), 7, 8, 11, 13, 15, 25, 28, 32, 43, 47–52, 81; della Storta, 13; Valchetta (Fosso di Formello, River Cremera), 4, 6, 7, 16, 19, 20, 25, 27, 31, 32, 36, 39, 46, 47, 50, 51, 62, 71.
fountain, Roman, 13, 15, 71.

G

Galeria, road to, 8.
gates and associated roads, *see* Formello, North-east Gate, North-west Gate, Ponte Sodo, Portonaccio, South-east Gate, Valchetta, West Gate.
Grotta Gramiccia, cemeteries, 22, 24, 41, 42, 44, 46, 90–99.

H

Hadrian I, pope, 77.
Henry V, emperor, 81.
Henry VII, emperor, 81.
hot springs, 52, 71.

I

inscriptions, archaic Latin on third century B.C. jugs, 54; found since 1926, 86–88; of imperial period, 57, 59, 60.
intramurani, 59.
Isola Farnese, 8, 10, 11, 13, 25, 42, 43, 51, 71, 79, 80, 81, 82.

John XVII, pope, 80.
Julio-Claudian emperors, 57, 59, 60.
Juno Regina, cult image of, 55.

K

kiln, pottery, Roman, 13.

L

lamps, inscribed, Roman, 13.
Latian elements in Veii, 23.

M

Macchia della Comunità (Quarto Comunità), 34, 43, 51, 55.
Macchia Grande, 20, 28, 31, 32, 64, 66, 68, 88.
marble, *bigio*, 66; coloured, 69; Luna, 66, 68, 69, 87, 88.
Mars, temple of, 59, 60.
masonry: concrete, 66–68, 71; dressed stone (*opus quadratum*), 12, 28–32, 32–39, 62, 66–71, 73, 110–114; *opus reticulatum*, 12, 66, 68, 69.
Mazzano, 78.
mill, *see* water-mill.
Millstream Gate, *see* Portonaccio.
Minerva, cult of, at Veii, 31, 54.
Monte: Aguzzo, 4, 18, 46, 47, 61; Campanile, 13, 14, 24, 34, 43; Michele, 18, 43, 44, 46; Olivero, 47; Sant' Angelo, 4.
Monterosi, 79.
Monterozzo, 18.
'Monte Tondo', tumulus, *see* Pisciacavallo.
Monti Sabatini, 4, 50, 55.
mosaic, *see* paving.
municipes, 59.
Municipium Augustum Veiens, 54, 55, 57–75.

N

Nepet (Nepi), 4, 15, 42, 60, 61, 66, 77.
North-east (Capena) Gate, 3, 4, 16–19, 27, 28, 32, 34, 36, 38, 44, 46, 48, 49, 61, 62, 75.
North-west Gate, 4, 6, 22, 23, 28, 32, 36, 38, 39, 48, 60, 66.
'Nymphaeum' (tufa quarries), 30, 38.

O

Olgiata estate, 7, 48, App. IV; tumulus ('Monticchio'), 47.
Oliveto (Oliveto Grande, Pozzuolo, San Vito), 41, 42, 47, 50.
opus reticulatum, *see* masonry.
opus, sectile, spicatum, *see* paving.
Orsini, 81.
Osteria (Casale) del Fosso, 7, 81; di Pisciacavallo, 4.

P

Pascal II, pope, 80.
Passo dello Scannato, 18.
paving: mosaic, 14, 68, 69; *opus sectile*, 69; *opus spicatum*, 14, 68, 69, 71; *see also selce*.
Piazza d'Armi, 1, 14, 15, 16, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 31, 32, 34, 36, 38, 43, 50, 51, 75.
Picazzano (Quattro Fontanili) cemetery, 22, 25, 41, 43–44, 46; contrada, 20.
Pietra Pertusa road, 18, 19.
Pisciacavallo, 4, 60, 61, App. IV; tumulus ('Monte Tondo') 42, 47.
Pons Veneni (Ponte Veiente) 81.
Ponte di Formello, 4, 16, 25, 50; del Fosso, 42, 43, 50; Galera, 10; dell' Isola, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11.
Ponte Sodo, 24, 47, 49, 50, 52, 69; postern, 19, 39.
Porticus Augusta, 59, 60.
Portonaccio, Gate (Millstream Gate), 8–13, 14, 23, 27, 28, 34, 38, 48, 61; inscription, 54; temple, 1, 27, 28, 30, 31, 41.
Pozzuolo, *see* Oliveto.
Prima Porta, 18, 19, 59, 79.

Q

Quaranta Rubbie, *see* Riserva Quaranta Rubbie.
Quarto Comunità (Macchia della Comunità), 24.
Quarticcioli, 31, 68.
Quattro Fontanili, 69, 71; cemetery, 110–114; *see* Picazzano.

R

Reynolds, J. M., *Inscriptions from Veii*, 86–88.
Riserva del Bagno cemetery, 105; *see also* Oliveto.
Riserva Quaranta Rubbie, 43.
Rome, sack of, by Gauls, 54.
'La Rotonda', 10, 11, 50.

S

San Giovenale, medieval castle, 36.
San Vito, *see* Oliveto.
Santa Maria di Galeria, 61.
SS. Cosma e Damiano, Abbot of, 80.
sarcophagi, Roman, 75.
selce (Roman paving), 11, 15, 18, 61, 62, 66, 68.
Sorbo, crater, 20.
South-east Gate, 14–15.
'La Spezeria' (Il Columbario), 18, 19, 71.
La Storta, 7, 10, 59, 82.
stucco, 73, 75.
suburbs, of Roman Veii, 68, 69.
Sutrium (Sutri), 4, 15, 60, 61.

T

Tarquinii, 4, 47, 60.
Taylor, Doris, *Report on black-glazed pottery*, 56–57.
temples and shrines, continuity of cult in, 55, 56; in Contrada Campetti (?), 27, 31, 54, 55; of imperial period, 59, 60; on Piazza d'Armi, 27, 28, 55; at Portonaccio, 1, 27, 28, 30, 31, 55; on south-east ridge (?), 27, 31.
terracottas, 27, 28, 30, 31.
theatre, 60, 68.
Tiberius, statue of, 64.
Tolonios, Lucius, 54.
tombs, Roman, 12, 64, 68, 71, 73, 75; *see also* cemeteries.
La Torraccia (Casa Rotta), *see* Il Casalaccio.
tumulus, 1, 4, 15, 42, 47; Vaccherecia, 27, 39, 44, 47.
Tulumne, gens Tolumnia, Lars Tolumnius, 30, 54.

U

Urnfield peoples, 23.

V

Vaccherecia, cemetery, 22, 25, 43, 108–110; postern, 16, 38; ridge, 19; tumulus, 27, 39, 44, 47.
Valchetta, *see* Fosso Valchetta; postern, 16.
Valle la Fata cemetery, 25, 43, 46; Gate, 3, 13, 14, 22, 38, 61.
Valloncello dei Campetti, 10, 11.
Veientines receive Roman citizenship, 54.

Via: Amerina, 4, 10, 60; Cassia, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 42, 43, 48, 55, 56, 60, 61, 79, 81, 82; Clodia, 6, 43, 60, 61; Flaminia, 19, 61, 79; 'Nepetina', 4, 55, 56, 61; Santa Cornelia, 20; Triumphalis, 14, 23; 'Veientana', 4, 15, 16, 47, 55, 56, 61; delle Vignacce, 8, 64, 66, 68.
Victoria Augusta, altar to, 59.
Vignacce, 31, 68, 71; postern 13, 73.
villas, Roman, 27, 66, 69, 71.
Vulci, 4, 8, 60.

W

water-mill, medieval and modern, 7, 10, 50, 80, 81; in antiquity (?), 51.
West (Caere) Gate, 6–8, 38.
wheel-tracks, 19.
wines, 57, 60.

II. INDEX OF AUTHORS AND INSCRIPTIONS

DIODORUS

14, 115, 2 54

FLORUS

I, vi, 11 54

HORACE

Sat. II, 3, 143 60

LIVY

V, 21, 10 55
V, 22 55
V, 50, 8 54
VI, 4, 4 54
VI, 5, 8 54

MARTIAL

I, 103, 9 60
II, 53, 4 60
III, 49 60

PERSIUS

5, 157 60

PROPERTIUS

IV, 10, 27–30 . . . . . 53, 54

CIL

VIII, 1641 60
IX, 982 60
2473 60
2568 60
2855 60
6257 60
X, 5060 60
XI, 3780–3799 60
3801 60
3805, 3811 60

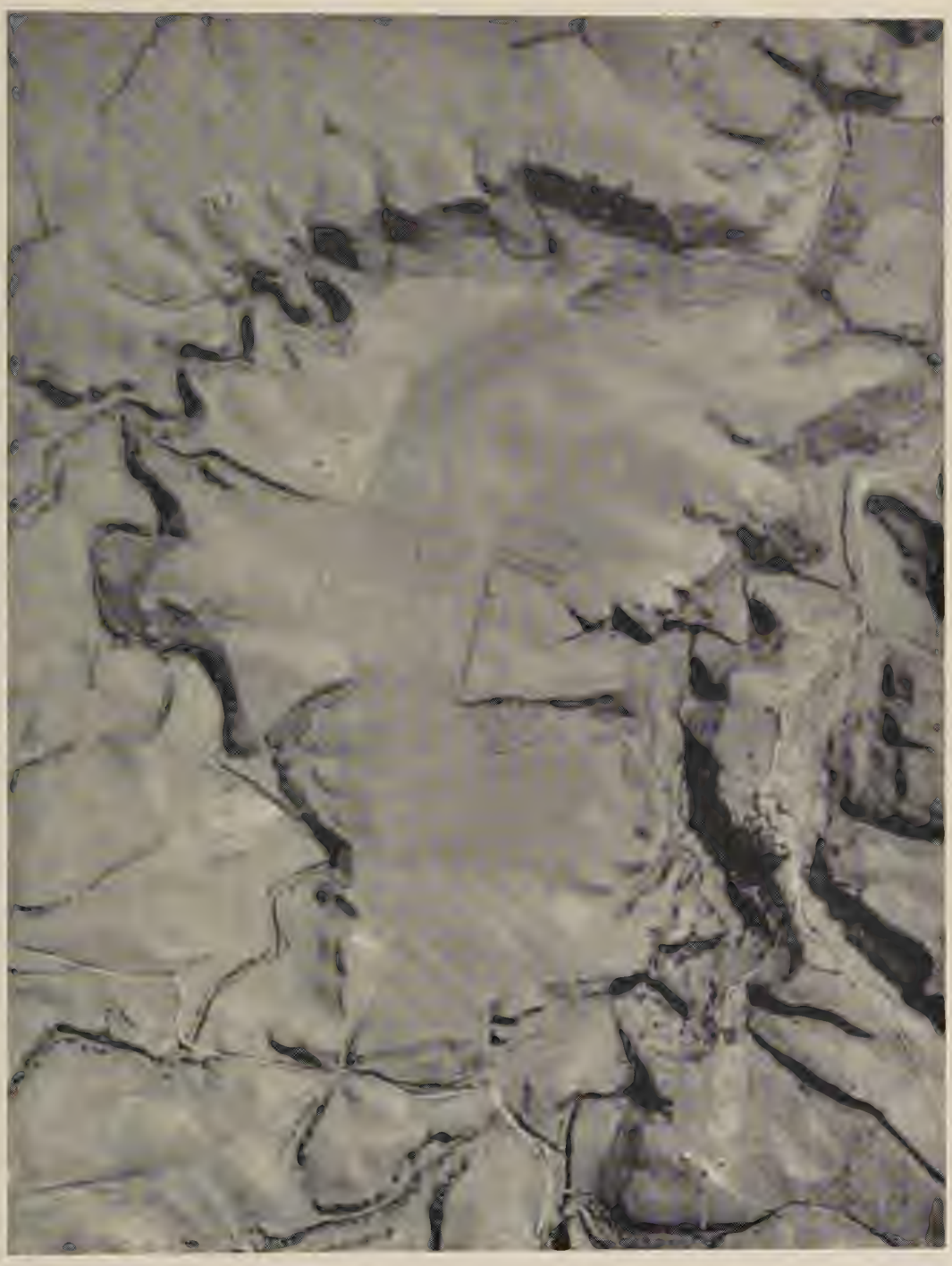
REND. ACC. LINCEI

n.s. iii, 1948, pp. 454–464 54

OTHER INSCRIPTIONS

newly published 86–88

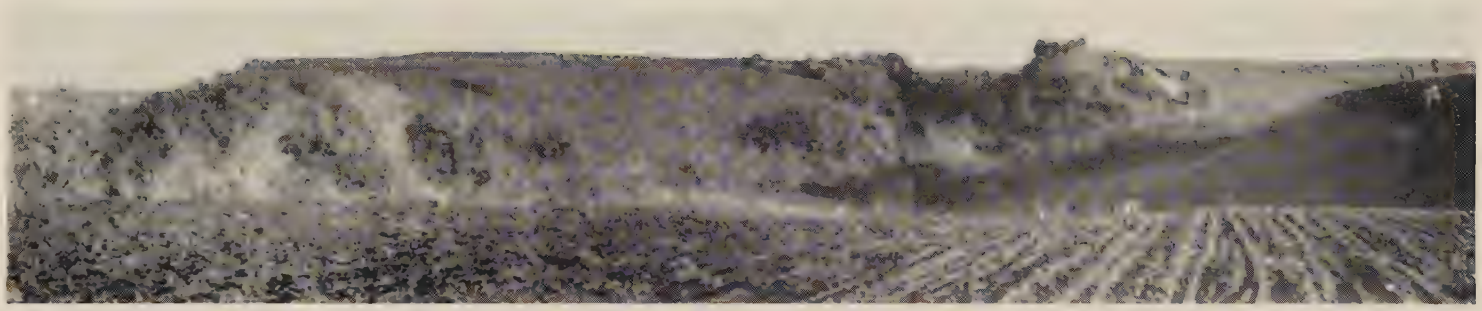
PLATES I-XXXII



Veii from the North-West

AIR PHOTOGRAPH OF VEII TAKEN IN 1943

THE NORTH-WEST GATE AND THE AREA TO THE NORTH AND WEST OF IT. AIR PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1943 (*cf.* figs. 44-47). *Scale* (approx.) 1.15,000



(*Photo: J. B. W. P.*)

a. The North-West Gate, Looking towards the City. The Figures on the Extreme Right mark the "Grotta Gramiccia West" Cemetery; Beyond them, on the Skyline, the Excavations of 1957

(*Photo M. H. B.*)

b. Ancient Roads outside the North-West Gate: (*right*) to Nepi, (*left*) to Vulci and Tarquinia

PLATE IV

(*Photo: E. T. A.*)

a. The Western Extremity of Veii, including the Millstream Gate and the Road beyond it

(*Photo: J. B. W. P.*)

b. The Same, Looking Westwards from the Plateau within the City

THE NORTH-EAST GATE (*cf.* pl. XXXI)

(*Photo* [illegible])

(*Photo: J. B. W. P.*)

a. The Portonaccio Roman Road, entering the area of the Etruscan Sanctuary. Beyond, the Castle of Isola Farnese

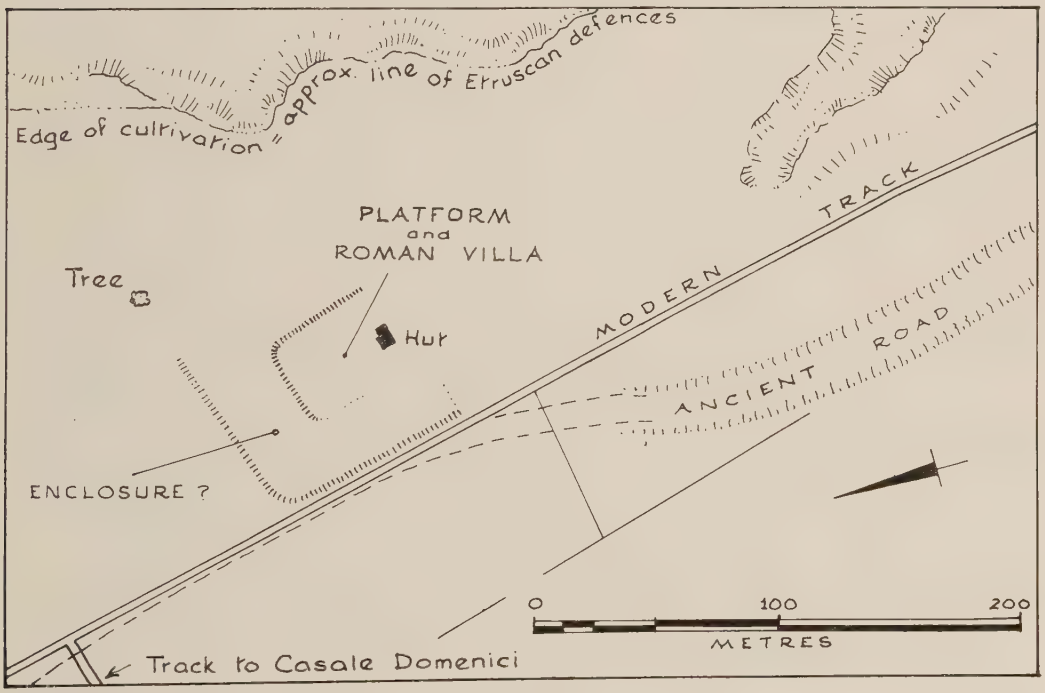
(*Photo: J. B. W. P.*)

b. Details of the same (p. 61)

THE CENTRE OF THE TOWN (*Photo: E. T. A.*)

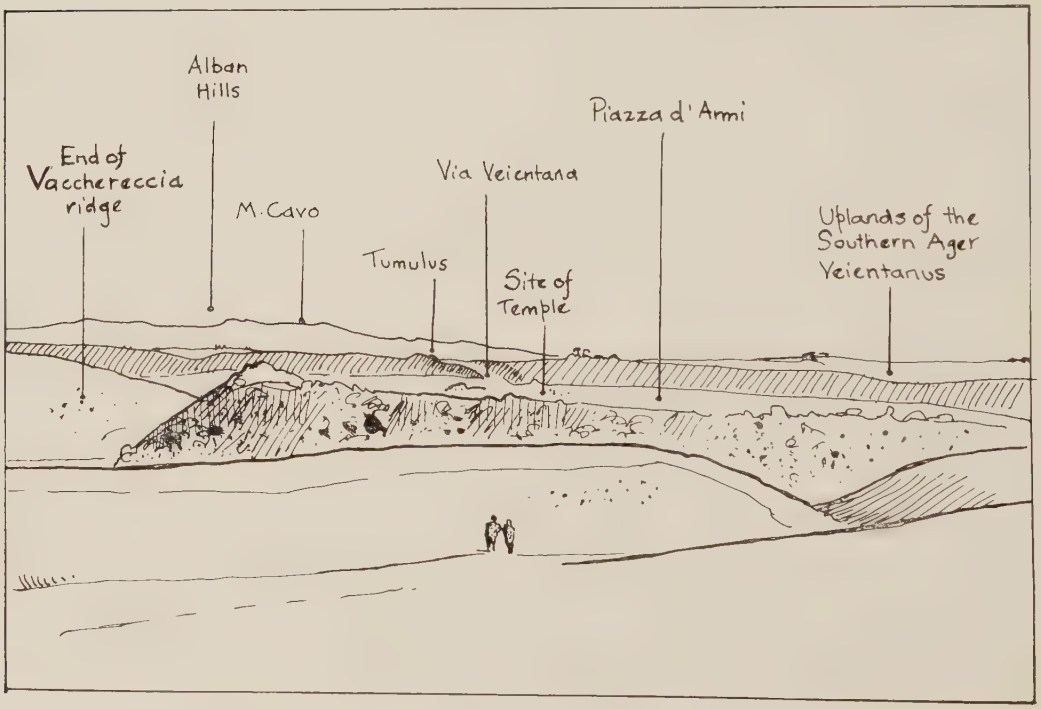
(*Photo: E. T. A.*)

THE SOUTH-EASTERN END OF THE PLATEAU, JUST ABOVE THE PIAZZA D'ARMI (pp. 31, 69)



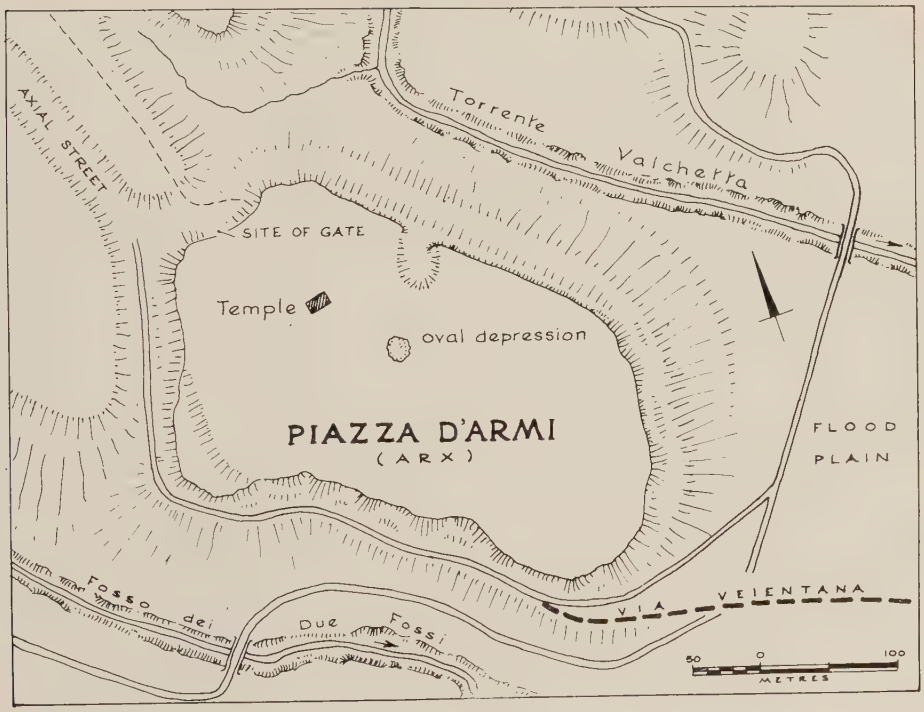
(*Photo: J. B. W. P.*)

THE PIAZZA D'ARMI, FROM THE SOUTH-EASTERN END OF THE MAIN PLATEAU



(*Photo: E. T. A.*)

THE PIAZZA D'ARMI



(*Photo: M. H. B.*)

a. The Ponte Sodo, Looking Downstream (*cf.* fig. 14)

(*Photo: J. B. W. P.*)

b. The North-East Gate

(*Photos: G. C. Duncan*)

SECTION OF THE CITY WALL NEAR THE VALCHETTA POSTERN (p. 36; *cf.* fig. 11)

SECTION OF THE CITY WALL CLEARED IN 1959, NEAR THE NORTH-EAST GATE (p 34; *cf.* fig. 10)

(*Photos: M. H. B.*)

(*Photo: J. B. W. P.*)

a. Portonaccio, masonry of the Outer Retaining Wall of the Altar Platform (*cf.* fig. 8)

(*Photo: J. B. W. P.*)

b. Portonaccio, masonry of the North Flank of the Temple (p. 30)

(*Photo: M. H. B.*)

a. Roman Bridge outside the North-East Gate (*cf.* fig. 17)

(*Photo: J. B. W. P.*)

b. Roman Cistern on the Cliffs above the Mill : detail of the Masonry (p. 69)

(*Photo: J. B. W. P.*)

a. The Vignacce Valley, from Isola Farnese (pp. 13, 73–75; *cf.* fig. 18)

(*Photo: J. B. W. P.*)

b. The Etruscan and Roman Road leading northwards from the North-East Gate (p. 18)

(*Photo: J. B. W. P.*)

a. The North-East Gate : Small Chamber Tomb (*cf.* fig. 25) cut into the Rock Face of the Etruscan Defences (p 75)

(*Photo: J. B. W. P.*)

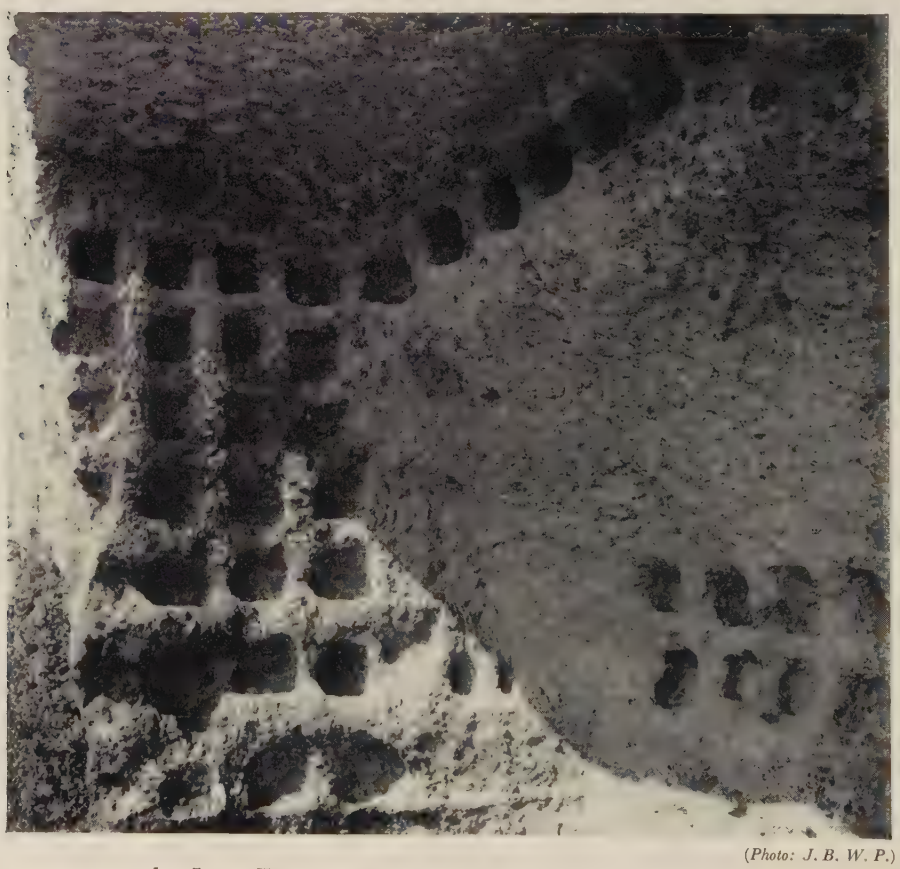
b. The North-East Gate : Roman Rock-cut Cinerary Recesses (p. 75)

(*Photo: E. T. A.*)

ISOLA FARNESE (pp. 79–81

(*Photo: J. B. W. P.*)

a. The Isola Farnese Promontory and the confluence of the two streams that delimit it. In the Foreground, the Valle la Fata



(*Photo: J. B. W. P.*)

b. Isola Farnese, the medieval Columbarium (p. 81)

(*Photo: J. B. W. P.*)

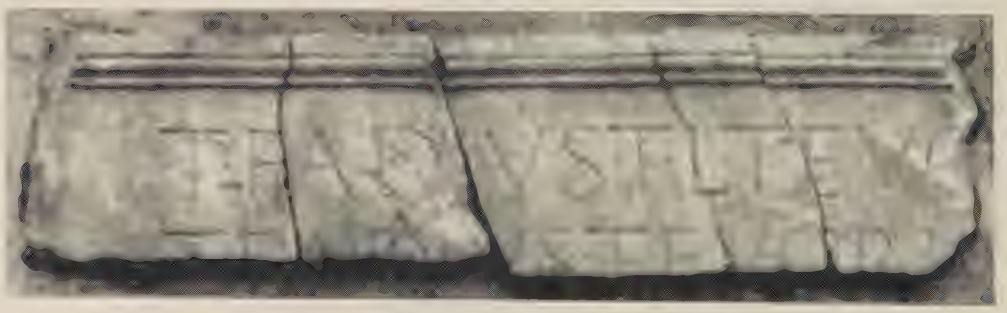
a. Isola Farnese, the gateway opening on to the Piazza

(*Photo: J. B. W. P.*)

b. Isola Farnese, the Church and the Piazza della Colonnetta

a. No. 2 (pp. 86-87)

b. No. 3 (p. 87)



c. No. 6 (p. 88)

(*Photos: J. B. W. P.*)

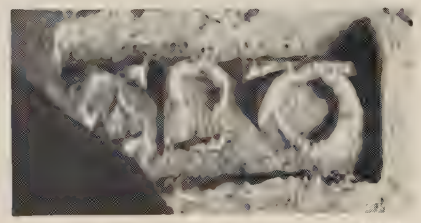
Inscriptions from Veii

(Photo: J. B. W. P.)

a. No 7 (p. 88)

(Photo: J. B. W. P.)

b. No 3 (p. 87)



(Photo: M. H. A.)

c. Stamped Dolium Rim (p. 88)

Inscriptions from Veii

PLATE XXIII

(*Photo: M. H. B.*)

a. No. 1 (p. 92)

(*Photo: M. H. B.*)

b. No. 4 (p. 93)

CINERARY URNS FROM THE 'GROTTA GRAMICCIA WEST' VILLANOVAN CEMETERY

PLATE XXIV

(*Photo M. H. B.*

Cinerary Urn No. 2 from the 'Grotta Gramiccia West' Villanovan Cemetery (p. 92)

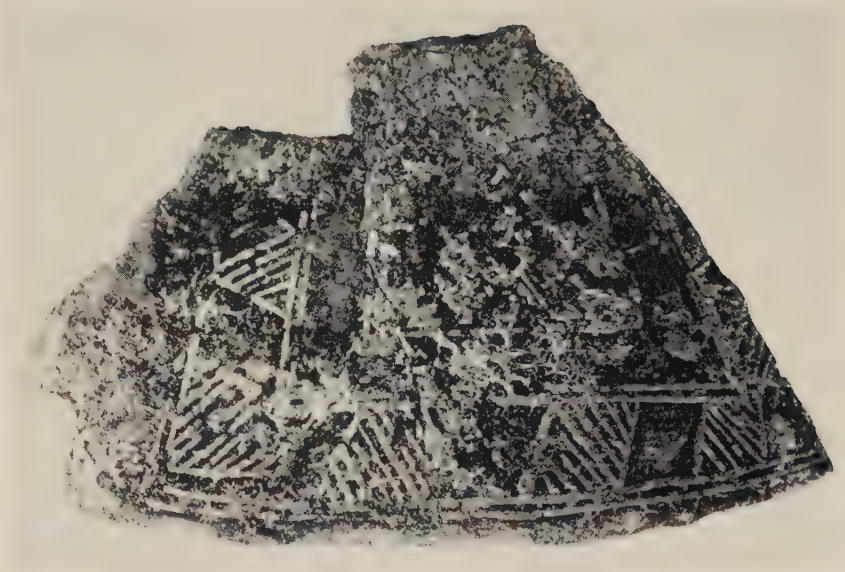
No. 5 (p. 94)

No. 6 (p. 94)

(*Photos: M. H. B.*)

CINERARY URNS FROM THE 'GROTTA GRAMICCIA WEST' VILLANOVAN CEMTERY

(*a*) Bronze Horse's Bits (p. 94)

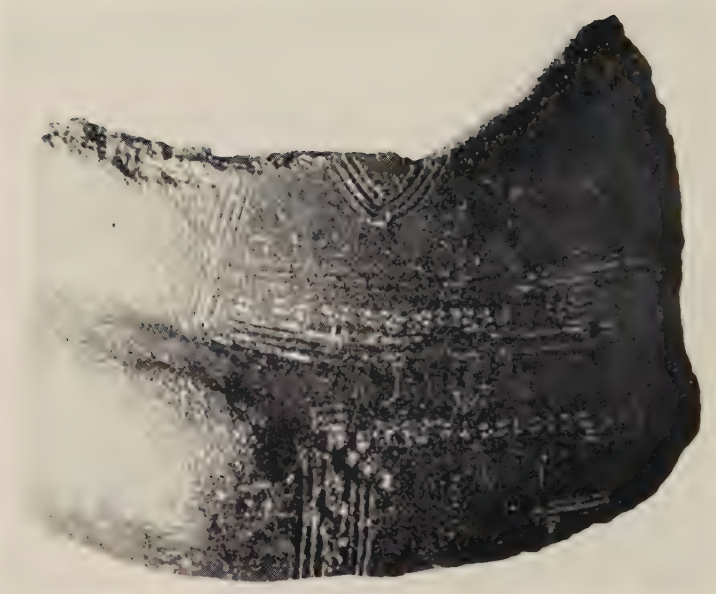


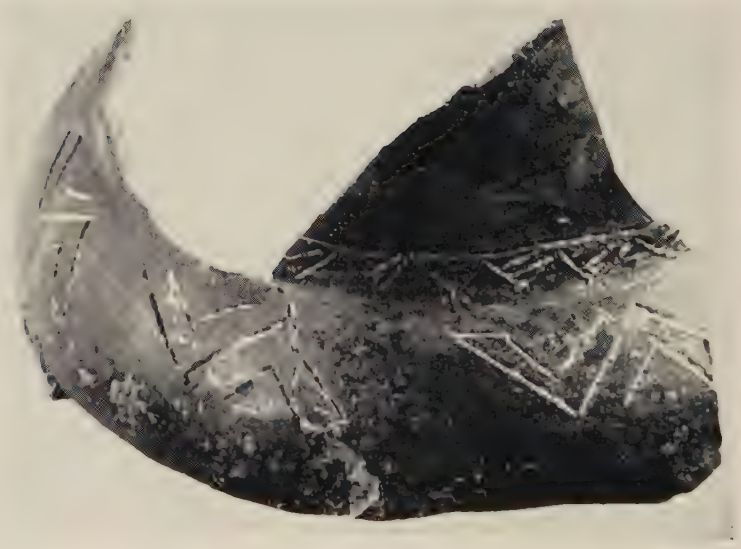
(*Photos: M. H. B.*)

b. Part of Helmet Lid of Cinerary Urn No. 2 (p. 93)

Objects from the 'Grotta Gramiccia West' Villanovan Cemetery

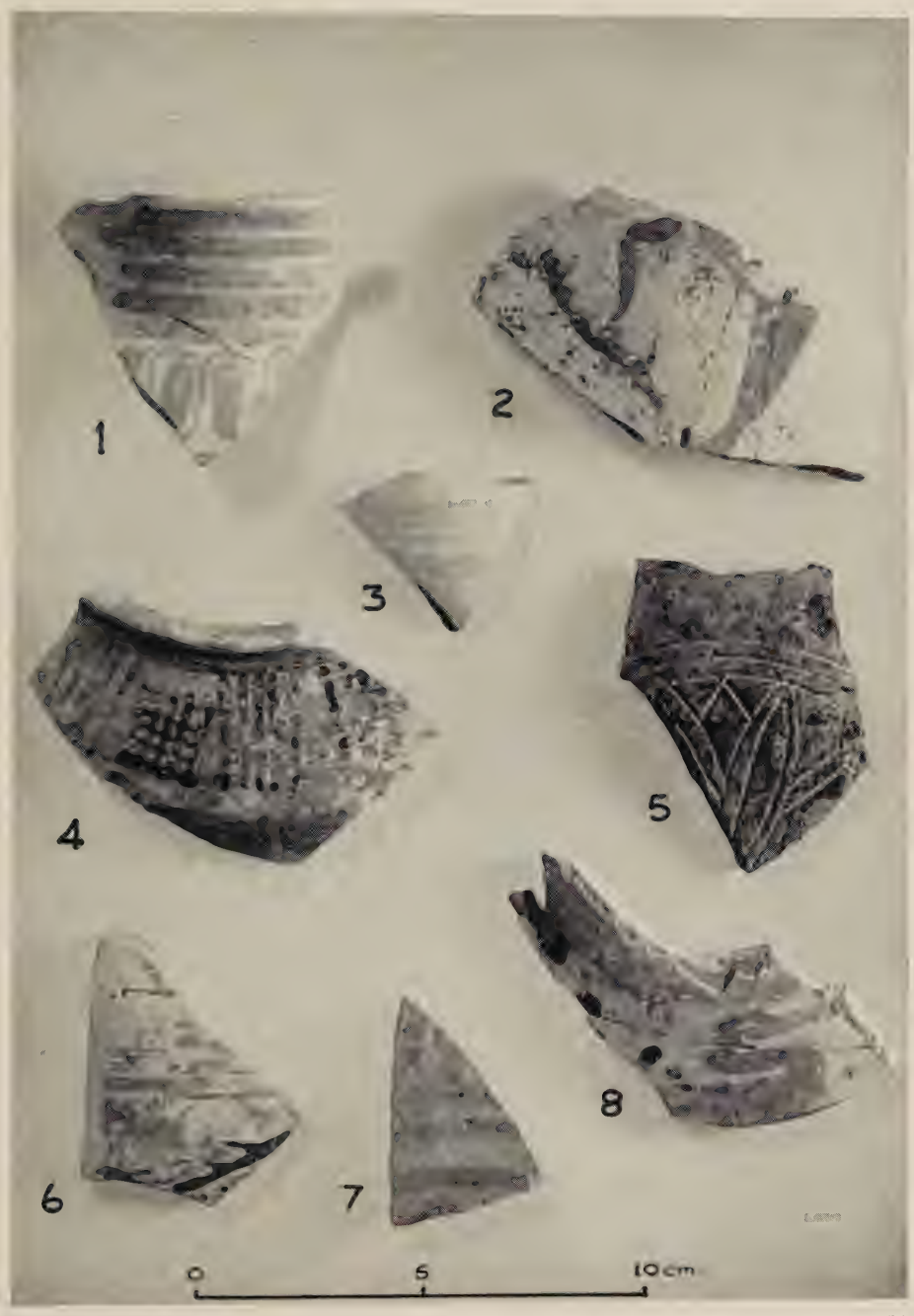
PLATE XXVII





(*Photos: M. H. B.*)

VILLANOVAN SHERDS FROM THE GROTTA GRAMICCIA ('GGX') CEMETERY
(p. 97, NOS. 15 AND 14)



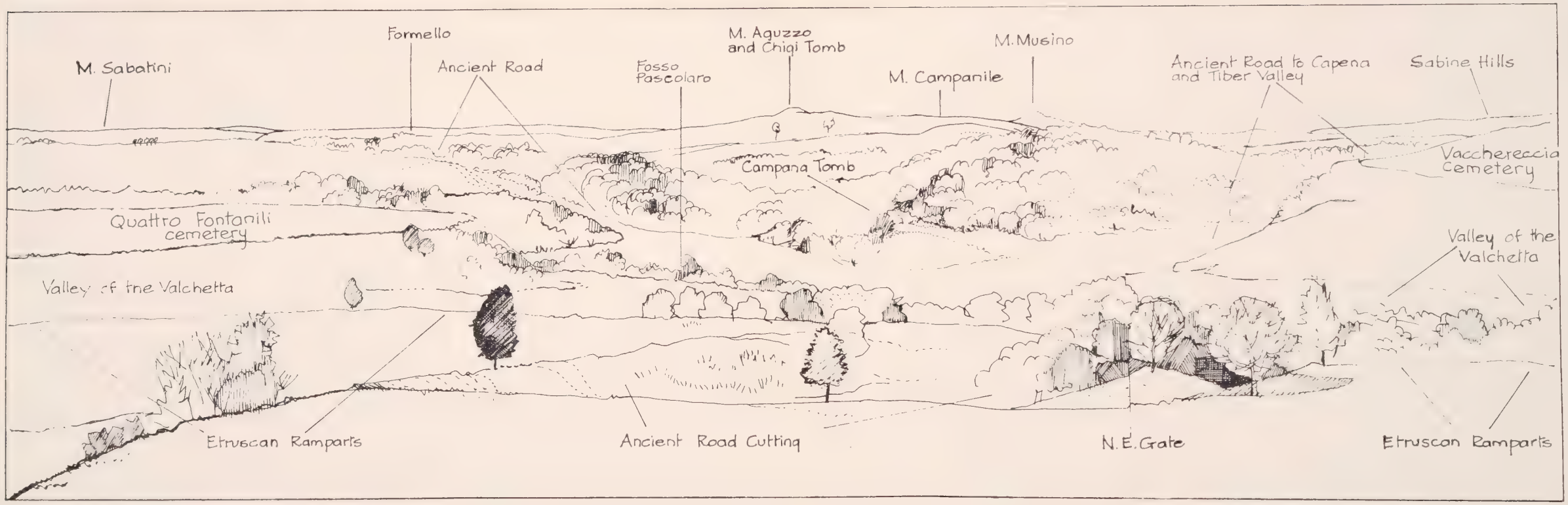
(*Photo: M. H. B.*)

Sherds from the Casale del Fosso (1) and Quattro Fontanili (2-8) Cemeteries
(pp. 104, 110–114)

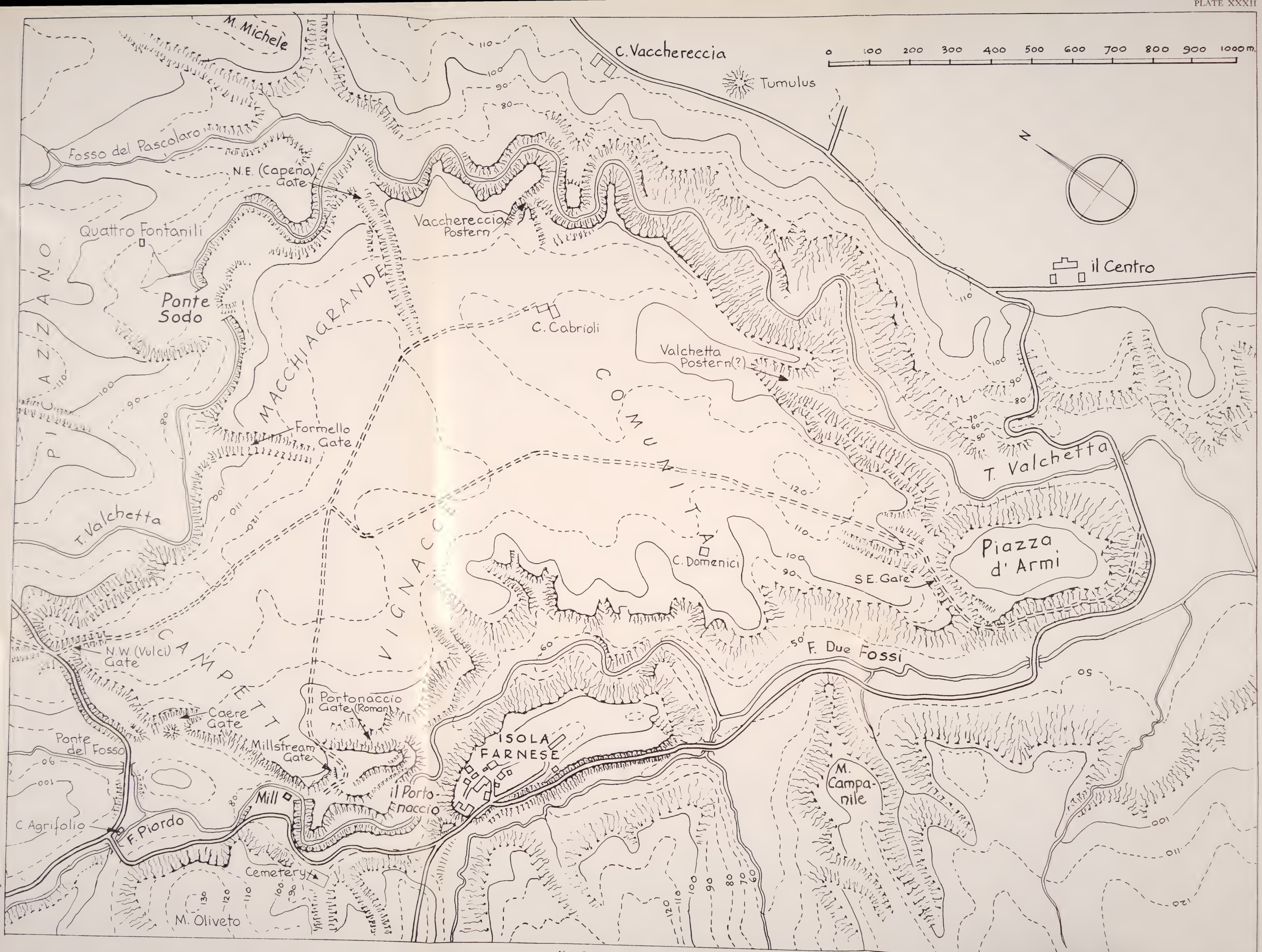
(*Photo: M. H. B.*)

ETRUSCO-CORINTHIAN OENOCHOE FROM THE QUATTRO FONTANILI CEMETERY (p. 114)

(*Photo: J. B. W. P.*)



VEII: THE CEMETERIES AND ROADS OUTSIDE THE NORTH-EAST GATE (*cf.* pl. VI)



Veii : General Plan of the Site